ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE is a bi annual organ of the Centre for Administrative Change It is devoted to the problems of administrative innovation development administration and the general area of administrative reforms It carries contributions from civil servants managerial executives and teacher researchers in the area of administrative sciences

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE is indexed or abstracted in *Sage Public Administration Abstracts International Political Science Abstracts Documentation in Public Administration Human Resources Abstracts* and *Index India*

CONTRIBUTIONS may be addressed to the Editor at B 56 Janata Colony Jaipur 302004 India The views expressed in signed articles are personal opinions of the contributors and ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE is in no way responsible for them The Editor welcomes short comments on the contributions published in ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE

SUBSCRIPTION *For Institutions* One year Rs 40 $ 8 £ 3 5 Two years Rs 75 $ 15 £ 5 30 Three years Rs 110 $ 21 £ 9 Life membership Rs 500 *For Individuals* One year Rs 30 $ 7 £ 2.5 Two years Rs 50 $ 13 £ 5 Three years Rs 75 $ 18 £ 7 5 Life Membership Rs 300

ADVERTISEMENTS Back Cover Rs 1 000 Inner Cover Rs 700 Full Page Rs 400 Advertisements may be sent to the Development Executive 7 Jha 5 Jawahar Nagar Jaipur 302004

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE

Founded by Late Shri B Mehta

Vol VII No 1 July-December 1979

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

Representative Bureaucracy Still Controversial after All these Years ? — DAVID H ROSENBLOOM — 1

Development and Development Administration Perspectives and Dimensions — KEMPE R HOPE — 11

Regressive Administration Some Second Thoughts on the Concept of Development Administration — JON S T QUAH — 25

Introducing EDP to Local Government Can an OD Approach be of Help ? — ARIE HALACHAMI — 37

Rural Re modelling in a Liberal-Industrial State — P C MATHUR — 56

Neglect of Rural Policing — S C MISRA — 67

THE DEBATE

Some Reflections on Professor Riggs s Clarification on the Notion of Development — DAYA KRISHNA — 79

VIEWPOINT

Towards a Model of Democratic Government — G C SINGHVI — 88

REVIEW ARTICLE

Some Aspects of India s Constitutional Development — A AVASTHI — 96

BOOK REVIEWS

The Indian Political Parties An Historical Analysis of Political Behaviour upto 1947 *(B B Misra)* — S BHATTACHARYA — 102

Children in Creches *(Alfred D Sou a)*	A P BARNABAS
Dynamics of Development Vols I & II *(Sudesh K Sharma)*	A AVASTHI
President s Rule in India *(S R Maheshwari)*	R B JAIN
State Governments in India *(S R Maheshwari)*	MOHAN MUKERJI
Government and Politics of Big Cities An Indian Case Study *(Ali Ashraf)*	HOSHIAR SINGH
State Trading in India *(M L Gupta)*	R G SARIEN
Financial Administration in India *(M J K Tharraj)*	S M PATANKAR
Politics and Language *(Y D Phadke)*	V S MURTI

CONTRIBUTORS

ARTICLES

DAVID ROSENBLOOM is Professor of Public Administration Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs Syracuse University Syracuse N Y U S A.

KEMPE R HOPE is Assistant Professor of Economics and Finance Daemen College Amherst New York U S A.

JON S T QUAH is Senior Lecturer in Political Science Singapore University Singapore

ARIE HALACHAMI is Associate Professor Institute of Public Affairs and Community Development University of Kansas Lawrence Ks 66045 U S A.

P C MATHUR is Lecturer in Political Science University of Rajasthan, Jaipur

S C MISRA is former Inspector General of Police Uttar Pradesh Umara Bagh M D Road Jaipur

THE DEBATE

DAYA KRISHNA is Professor of Philosophy and Pro Vice-Chancellor University of Rajasthan Jaipur

VIEWPOINT

G C SINGHVI is Additional Inspector General of Police Police Headquarters Jaipur

REVIEW ARTICLE

A AVASTHI is former Professor and Head Department of Political Science and Public Administration Sagar University Sagar

BOOK REVIEWS

S BHATTACHARYA is Professor of History Jawaharlal Nehru University New Delhi

A P BARNABAS is Professor of Sociology and Social Policy Indian Institute of Public Administration New Delhi

R. B JAIN is Professor and Head Department of Public Administration Punjabi University Patiala

MOHAN MUKERJI is former Adviser to the Governor and Chief Secretary Rajasthan Bhawani Singh Marg Jaipur

HOSHIAR SINGH is Reader in Public Administration, University of Raj
than Jaipur

R G SARIEN is former Director R A Poddar Institute of Managemen
University of Rajasthan Jaipur

S M PATANKAR is Adviser, Finance, Bureau of Public Enterpris
Government of India, Mayur Bhawan, Parliament Street New Dell

V S MURTI is Professor and Head, Department of Political Science ar
Public Administration, Nagpur University, Nagpur

illogical and irrational but people themselves are the arbiters of what is rational or what is not It is people s verdict that should under all circum stances be respected There is a tragic note underlying the whole process of transformation The stalwarts who had so sanctimoniously pledged themselves to serve the people turned out to be small men And when small men cast long shadows it is sunset Sunset it seems to be but there is a shimmering silver lining to it Through sheer dogged defiance and superbly calculated moves on the political chess board, revamped and revitalized by the dazzlingly brilliant leadership the Congress under Mrs Gandhi s leadership have re established its claims to power

The interlude may be distressing but the future seems to be full of hope and optimism

A B MATHUR

David H Rosenbloom

Representative Bureaucracy Still Controversial after All these Years ?*

Can a public bureaucracy be a *representational institution* ? *This question* has aroused substantial controversy ever since President Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson sought to make the American federal executive branch politically and socially representative of the population of the political com munity Although considerable skepticism remains concerning this possibility, especially among political scientists, social science as a whole is currently developing a differentiated view of public bureaucrats that lends credence to the contemporary concept of representative bureaucracy Nevertheless and despite arguments by assertion on both sides of the issue the critical task of systematically investigating a link between public bureaucrats social back grounds and their decision making behaviour has yet to be accomplished satisfactorily

THE IMPORTANCE OF REPRESENTATIVE BUREAUCRACY

The rise of the administrative state has presented a challenge for democratic regimes The political influence of non elective and non politically appointed public administrators ineluctably expands *Substantial barriers are erected* to administrative accountability to elective officials and the electorate Almost inevitably as Smith and Hague conclude accountability gets lost in the shuffle somewhere in the middle ranges of the bureaucracy [1] Reorgani zations new budgetary approaches and related reforms not withstanding elected officials control of government is tenuous at best As Mosher expresses the problem

---

Presented at the panel on Toward a Representative Bureaucracy Problems and Prospects," at the Convention of the American Political Science Association Washington D C 31 August 1979

> The accretion of specialization and of technical and social complexity seems to be an irreversible trend—one that leads to increasing dependence upon the protected appointive public service thrice removed from direct democracy. Herein lies the central underlying problem: how can a public service so constituted be made to operate in a manner compatible with democracy? How can we be assured that a highly differentiated body of public employees will act in the interests of all the people, will be an instrument of all the people?[2]

One response to Mosher's query, and perhaps the most promising answer, is that bureaucratic power need not be feared to the extent that it is representative of the will of the polity.

SOME MEANINGS OF REPRESENTATIVE BUREAUCRACY

Representative bureaucracy has several meanings. For the purposes of this essay, only four need be considered. First, a bureaucracy can be representative in terms of the social characteristics of its personnel. Taken alone, this aspect of representative bureaucracy speaks to distributive justice and is currently an important aspect of public personnel administration in the United States. Indeed, in 1970 the United States Civil Service Commission declared: "We believe that to the extent practicable organizations of the Federal Government should in their employment mix broadly reflect racially and otherwise the varied characteristics of our population." As Samuel Krislov[3] and Frances Fox Piven[4] have suggested, social representation has important ramifications for the general social, political, and economic status of groups. Indeed, on the urban level, bureaucratic employment has provided a major channel for the upward mobility of immigrant groups. As such, social representation in bureaucracies can be seen as a traditional facet of assimilation in the United States.

Nevertheless, the concept of social representation has engendered some controversy. To some extent this has been confined to the method by which it is achieved. Hence the decade-long debate over "affirmative action," which has had almost everything to do with technique and nothing to do with ultimate objectives. In addition, some, such as Subramaniam and Meier,[6] have contended that public bureaucracies inherently over-represent the middle class. While this may be true, its significance is directly proportional to the extent to which class cleavages are important in politics, especially cleavages between the middle class and the lower class. Indeed, Subramaniam pointed out that for this reason the concept of representative bureaucracy was

more satisfactory in its application to the United States than to a country like India Finally Meier has come close to condemning the entire notion of representative bureaucracy on the grounds that public bureaucracies show only limited representation of social characteristics such as social class geographical distribution and so forth Needless to say, however the fact that public bureaucracies are not perfectly representative of these characteristics hardly demonstrates that such representativeness as they do manifest is irrelevant to political and social life

Second, the concept of representative bureaucracy specifies that public bureaucrats attitudes and values can be representative of those of the citizenry at large In the United States empirical investigation has tended to confirm this possibility Thus Meier and Nigro found that the political outlooks of top ranking federal bureaucrats were generally representative of the political community [7] Meier presented data for federal bureaucrats that tended to confirm this view, and Wynia s study of bureaucrats commitment to a democratic ideology suggests that to the extent that upper level federal bureaucrats do not hold representative views they are more committed to democratic norms such as the rule of law [8]

Third and more controversial the concept of representative bureaucracy maintains that the behaviour of public bureaucrats is conditioned by their values and attitudes Though such a statement would hardly be controversial in other areas such as voting behaviour it has long been theorized that bureaucratic organization prevents bureaucrats from acting on their own personal beliefs values or emotions

This view was most profoundly expressed by Max Weber who developed what might be called the 'cog theory of bureaucracy In his view hierarchy specialization formalization and related organizational features render the individual bureaucrat only a single cog in an ever moving mechanism which prescribes to him essentially fixed route of march [9] Consequently 'the individual bureaucrat is forged to the community of all functionaries who are integrated into the mechanism [10] Indeed, as Weber expressed it dehumanization was the special virtue [11] of bureaucracy Recent research has cast substantial doubt upon this approach

Finally and most controversially the concept of representative bureaucracy specifies that there are links between these three elements That is

social representation begets behavioural representation This contention has been subject to considerable criticism

Frederick Mosher was among the first to dispute the notion of a link between social background and behaviour on the job

> The fact is that we know too little about the relationship between a man s background and pre employment socialization on the one hand, and his orientation and behavior in the office on the other Undoubtedly, there are a good many other intervening variables, the length of time in the organization or the time distance from his background, the nature and strength of the socialization process within the organization, the nature of the position the length and content of preparatory education the strength of associations beyond the job and beyond the agency, etc [1]

Moreover, Meier and Nigro argue that although high ranking federal bureaucrats are not socially representative, they nevertheless hold representative policy preference Hence other factors such as agency cultures and interaction with clientele groups may be more important than social background in contributing to a politically representative bureaucracy

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND THE COG THEORY"

As a whole American political science, at least as represented by the journal of the American Political Science Association has been skeptical of the possibility of bureaucratic personnel performing representative roles Indeed to the extent that public bureaucrats are viewed in a differentiated fashion political scientists such as Aberback, Rockman Cole and Caputo consider partnership as a highly salient predictor of their attitudes and behaviour

As noted above Subramaniam argued that the concept of representative bureaucracy was largely inapplicable to non middle class societies Although presenting no data to substantiate his point Meier asserted that the assumption that socioeconomic characteristics determine values for upwardly mobile adult bureaucrats is in need of revision [13] Finally Dresang who noted that few efforts have been devoted to the task of determining whether in fact an individual s social identity affects his behaviour as an administrator [14] offered an empirical study of the matter based on resource allocations by the Zambian bureaucracy His conclusion was that

the " evidence indicates that an ethnic group cannot rely on representation in the bureaucracy as a resource for effectively pursuing group interests [15]

However, since he (Dresang) failed to investigate decision making processes so as to determine the extent to which individual civil servants articulate the values and interests of their social background '[16] —a matter he nevertheless identified as central—it is possible that the facts that (1) the Zambian bureaucracy is dominated by an elite ethnic group and (2) " development allocations to provinces have not been designed to favor one particular region [17] do not add up to the absence of a connection between ethnic background and bureaucratic output For instance it is plausible that an elite group could foster its own interests in maintaining the legitimacy of its domination precisely by avoiding the appearance of ethnocentrism or of lining its own pockets

Why is contemporary political science so skeptical of notions of representative bureaucracy ? Morris Janowitz and associates attribute it to a fixation with the study of elections which distorts the political importance of these events

> The decisive transformation of modern government has been the growth in scope and power of government bureaucracy and consequent problems which have been posed for the viability of democratic party politics
>
> Modern political theory continues nevertheless to emphasize elections as the crucial device for the democratic control of political power By contra t, a system of political theory which would outline the desired relations between government bureaucracy and the public in a democratic political system is relatively undeveloped
>
> Similarly it is striking to note the extent to which contemporary political behavior research focuses on the *election process to the exclusion* of the administrative arena of power The focus of the political behaviorist, however, does not seem to be a result of the state of political theory Elections have been intensively studied because they lend themselves to the methodology of empirical research into politics [18]

Certainly whatever the cause the extent to which contemporary political science focuses on elections and voting contributes to an exaggerated view of the power of elected officials and to a tendency to undervalue the political importance of staff whether in the legislature or in the bureaucracy

Even as political science has placed greater emphasis on the output side of politics via policy studies, evaluation and analysis it has nevertheless still avoided the study of public bureaucrats *per se* Rather organizations and processes have been emphasized while bureaucrats have generally been consigned to some abstract theoretical model of rational or bureaucratic behaviour Although it is quite possible that the political science outlook on representative bureaucracy is generally valuable the decisive fact is that this view continues to rest on assertion and inadequate empirical analysis Moreover there is compelling reason to believe that the prevailing critique of representative bureaucracy is overly simplistic Thus standing in stark contrast to Dresang's study of Zambia Meier's assertions and Mosher's skepticism Seymour Martin Lipset's study of upper class bureaucrats in Saskatchewan during a time of radical political change led him to chastise political scientists for leaving "the bureaucrat in a social vacuum"[19] and to conclude that

> [T]he behavior of government bureaucrats varies with the nongovernmental social background and interest of those controlling the bureaucratic structure Members of a civil service are also members of other nongovernmental social groups and classes Social pressures from many different group affiliations and loyalties determine individual behavior in most situations The behavior of an individual or group in a given situation cannot be considered as if the individual or group members had no other life outside the given situation one is analyzing[20]

TOWARD THE DEMISE OF THE "COG THEORY"

Lipset's study suggests that the cog theory of bureaucracy is inadequate and that there is indeed a link between social background and bureaucratic behaviour Several other studies suggest that the cog theory seriously overstates the impact of bureaucratic employment upon individuals values and attitudes and that public bureaucrats are far from an undifferentiated mass

1 As early as 1949 Leonard Reissman developed an empirically based and behaviourally oriented four fold typology of bureaucrats It focused on the bureaucrat's orientation concerning recognition and was considered predictive about some forms of behaviour such as being overly meticulous about the rules and regulations

2 In their study of Israeli "bureaucratic culture" Nachmias and Rosenbloom typed public bureaucrats according to their personal

motivations and their view of the personnel system[21] They found wide variations among four types of bureaucrats with regard to patterns of cognition efficacy, and evaluation of the organization behaviour, and personnel of the Israeli bureaucracy

3 In the same study it was found that public bureaucrats belonging to different ethnic groups held substantially different perceptions of the performance of the national bureaucracy in areas of high salience to the nature of ethnic cleavages Thus Israeli bureaucrats of Asian African descent were less likely than other bureaucrats to believe that the bureau cracy promoted social integration or that it treated people equally These differences tended to be reinforced by high rank Moreover, although the perspectives of public bureaucrats were generally different from those of the citizenry, there was considerable congruence among the views of Israelis of Asian African descent concerning expectation of (un)equal treatment and the role of the bureaucracy in promoting social integration—whether members of this group were found in the upper ranks of the bureaucracy its lower levels or in the society at large

4 In a study of Passive and Active Representation in the Federal Service -[2] Rosenbloom and Featherstonhaugh found marked differences between white and black federal employees with regard to their responses to such items as Public officials don t care about people like me "voting is the only way to influence government " and "citizens have no control over government

5 As in the case of Asian Africans in Israel Rosenbloom and Feathers tonhaugh found evidence of a parallel between black bureaucrats views and those of blacks generally However it should be stressed that black bureaucrats did not fully reflect the outlooks of black citizens rather they were more likely than white bureaucrats to reflect a black perspective

6 Upon investigating the political beliefs of high level federal execu tives concerning the government s role in the provision of social services and the extent of inequity in political representation Aberbach and Rockman concluded that agency and party affiliation were particularly important variables in accounting for differences in administrators views [23] Moreover, the influence of party is especially powerful in predicting administrators' positions on the social services measure ' [4]

7 Cole and Caputo s study of Presidential Control of the Senior

Civil Service '25 yielded findings generally consistent with those obtained by Aberback and Rockman. They found that overall, Republican bureau crats were consistently more favorable to both the programs and policy goals of new federalism than were Democrats Occasionally this difference was very large 26

When these various studies are considered together, a new picture of the public bureaucrat emerges Rather than undifferentiated cogs, public bureaucrats are seen as individuals who are motivated by different job orientations, attitudes stemming from their social backgrounds, and political partisanships or ideologies The cog theory and some of the assertions of its proponents notwithstanding public bureaucrats values and attitudes are neither uniform nor wholly dictated by patterns of bureaucratic socialization

THE PROSPECTS FOR REPRESENTATIVE BUREAUCRACY REVISITED

The weakening of the cog theory by recent empirical studies increases the prospects for the development of representative bureaucracies as outlined earlier in this essay Experience in the United States suggests that although the task of increasing social representation may be difficult the combined effects of equal employment opportunity efforts economic and social changes can lead to an increase in the proportional representation of various social groups in a public bureaucracy While this has been proceeding with regard to race ethnicity and gender in the United States in principle it could also work with regard to other characteristics such as social class or religion. Based on the various challenges to the ' cog theory it is also evident that a socially representative bureaucracy will contain within it attitudes and values that reflect the perspectives of the society at large Thus bureaucrats from various social groups will tend to reflect the outlooks of those groups on matters of high salience to them It is important to note however that a perfect correspondence is no more likely to be found here than where representation is obtained through some other device such as elections But will such representativeness be translated into policy ?

The issue of the existence of a behavioural link between public bureau crats attitudes and their decision making and administrative activities remains unresolved Although Lipset found a clear link other studies such as Dresang s have not Moreover despite a tendency in the social sciences to rely on the assumption that attitudes do effect behaviour in other areas such as voting in the realm of bureaucracy there are some countervailing approaches

including the cog theory and concern with the bureaucrat s individual personality Indeed, Hummel maintains that "the bureaucrat s personality is devastated by bureaucracy

Thus, while it is known that civil servants have been known to reduce the significance of reforms directed against their own group and been assumed that factors such as partisanship have an impact on bureaucrats be havior such a link calls for further exploration This could be accomplished through case studies or by an overall investigation of a large and diverse public bureaucracy Because of the potential importance of representative bureaucracy to contemporary democratic government here is an area in which social science has a potentially substantial contribution to make to political life

NOTES

1 B Smith and D Hague *The Dilemma of Accountability in Modern Government* (New York St Martin s 1971) p 27

2. F Mosher *Democracy and the Public Service* (New York Oxford University Press 1968) pp 3-4

3 S Krislov *Representative Bureaucracy* (Englewood Cliffs Prentice Hall 1974)

4 F Piven Militant Civil Servants in New York City in W Burnham ed *Politics/ America* (New York Van Nostrand 1973) pp 380-385

5 V Subramaniam Representative Bureaucracy A Reassessment *American Political Science Review* LXI (December 1967) 1010-1019

6 K Meier Representative Bureaucracy An Empirical Analysis *American Political Science Review* LXIX (June 1975) 5_6-542

7 L Meier and Nigro Representative Bureaucracy and Policy Preferences *Public Administration Review* XXXVI (July August 1976) 458-469

8 B Wynia Federal Bureaucrats Attitudes Toward a Democratic Ideology " *Public Administration Review* XXXIV (March April 1974) 156-162

9 M Weber *From Max Weber Essays in Sociology* trans and ed by H H Gerth and C W Mills (New York Oxford University Press 1958) p 228

10 *Ibid*

11 *Ibid* p 216

The tools of this type of development, also, were quite clearly anything that could help get the engines of investment production and consumption moving in the individual poor country This meant an inflow of capital goods from rich countries It al o meant technical advice, borne either by experts from abroad, or by students returning home with degrees in economics from North American and European universities, and the creation of economic institutions that would provide people in the less developed countries (LDC s) with the ability to read and write and then produce more economic and technical know how

Round and round the system would go, getting steadily richer, until the poor country could truly be said to be developing Theory of ecocomic development worked remarkably well in some countries In South Korea and Taiwan for example, production of goods and ervices leaped upwards—helped of course, by the U S aid and defence outlays—until these countries began to leave poverty behind [2]

However elsewhere some flaws appeared in the theory For one thing the poor countries challenged the notion that development could be mea ured in terms of economic growth In country after country, it became obvious that there were serious questions to be a ked about economic ju tice, social equality and political development the nature and rate of change, the internal con istency of the development process income distribution etc

Hence the challenge resulted in a search for a new meaning and approach to development— a relative meaning and approach to development The task was therefore one of finding a new measure of development to replace the growth or national income measure or more precisely, to enable the national income to be given its true somewhat limited, significance as a measure of development potential [3]

WHOLISTIC VIEW OF DEVELOPMENT

The leaders of the developing Third World countries therefore embarked on the principle that underdevelopment is not just the lack of development They argued instead that before there was development there was no under development and that the relation between development and underdevelopment is not just a comparative one in the sense that some places are more developed or underdeveloped than others but rather that development and underdevelopment are also related both through the common historical

process that they have shared during the past several centuries and through the mutual that is, reciprocal influence that they have had still have and will continue to have, on each other throughout history [4]

The emphasis therefore shifted and development began to be regarded as a total process involving economic, social political and cultural elements Its principal aim being to improve not only the economic but the social cultural and environmental welfare of a nation This was to be brought about not through reliance on external assistance but through national efforts embodied in local community participation and targeted at removing all signs of 'external economic dependence

This new approach at development stresses the primary importance of local considerations in the formulation of development policies and programmes Local needs and values would determine the direction develop ment takes in a particular country and local institutions would be responsi ble for carrying it out [5]

The recent evaluation of development activities have both exemplified and influenced this emerging new approach to development Their similar diagnoses of the ills of the development system represent a much deeper understanding than did the one sided explanations frequently offered in the post war period for the failure of policies and programmes—e g lack of infrastructure, industrialisation education and modern agricultural policies

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

Without a doubt, the new approach at development particularly the emphasis on economic independence, has for the first time resulted in a significant shift in the balance of economic power in favour of the developing countries taken as a group This shift in the balance of economic power was initiated by the action taken by the oil exporting countries towards the end of 1973 This was followed by a rapidly growing awareness on the part of developing countries generally of the need for joint action to improve their bargaining position and to protect their economic interests [6] This further resulted in a United Nations resolution designed to bring about a New International Economic Order

The concept of a new international economic order is one embodying institutional arrangements which promote the economic and social progress of the developing countries in the context of an expanding world economy

The achievement of all the structural changes necessary to overcome the major defects of the existing system of international economic relations should be conceived as a process over a period of time

The fundamental elements of the approach toward a New International Economic Order are three fold First and most fundamental measures will be needed to reduce and eventually eliminate the economic dependence of developing countries on developed country enterprises in the production and trade of developing countries thus allowing those countries to exercise full control over their natural resources A second aim is that of promoting the accelerated development of the economies of developing countries on the basis of the principle of self reliance Thirdly appropriate institutional changes are required to introduce some measure of global management of resources in the long term interests of mankind as a whole

Essentially the current thrust toward development can be viewed as a process in eradicating the state of deficiencies that was brought about when some nations became rich at the expense of others The current policy of self reliance implies the full utilisation of the domestic resources of the developing countries by the developing countries and close economic cooperation among them to achieve agreed objectives The final result intended to be an end to external economic dependence social and cultural deprivation political subjugation and environmental degradation, and to bring about a redistribution of income

Hence what is now required is an elaboration by the developing countries of this comprehensive strategy for strengthening their mutual co operation in all aspects of their economic relations Such an elaboration of the strategy should include *inter alia* measures designed specifically to promote the flows of trade and finance among the developing countries to encourage joint ventures involving the technology and know how of developed nations (both market economy and socialist) to build up an independent and viable scientific and technological base and to take the first steps towards harmonising their respective economic development programmes

THE BASIC NEEDS APPROACH

Such a self reliant approach as embodied in the New International Economic Order is one that lays central emphasis on meeting the basic needs of the majority of the population of the LDC s The basic needs concept is taken to include two elements [7] First it includes certain minimum requirements of

a family for private consumption adequate food shelter and clothing are obviously included as would be certain household equipment and furniture

Second it includes essential services provided by and for the community at large such as safe drinking water sanitation public transport, and health and educational benefits

Such a basic needs approach would very definitely satisfy the less developed countries, some of which such as Guyana and Tanzania, have been moving in that direction any way Basic needs constitute the minimum objective of society and is of universal applicability although the relative importance of its components will vary with the level of development and from one nation to another

Development in this context is seen as development of every man and woman—of the whole man and woman—and just the growth of things which are merely means Development geared to the satisfaction of needs beginning with the needs of the poor who constitute the world's majority at the same time development to ensure the humanisation of man by the satisfaction of his needs for expression creativity conviviality, and for deciding his own destiny

EVOLUTIONARY NOTION OF DEVELOPMENT

Development therefore is a whole it is an integral, value loaded cultural process it encompasses the natural, environmental social relations education production consumption and well being It is endogenous and springs from the heart of each society which relies first on its own strength and resources and defines in sovereignty the vision of its future cooperating with societies sharing its problems and aspirations In general the aim of development should be to achieve a more equitable distribution of the benefits of growth in the whole economy, and as such must be thought of in terms of evolution rather than in terms of creation

Development does not start with goods it starts with people and their education organization and discipline Without these three all resources remain latent untapped potential Here then lies the central problem of development and the reason why development cannot be an act of creation why it cannot be brought or accelerated through aid It requires a process of evolution

If aid is given to introduce certain new economic activities these will be beneficial and viable only if they can be sustained by the already existing educational level of fairly broad groups of people, and they will be truly valuable only if they promote and spread advances in education organization, and discipline

It follows from this that development entails a direct internal attack which takes poverty seriously It will not go on mechanically It will concern itself with people because people represent the primary source and the ultimate beneficiaries of the development process

DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION CONCEPTUAL PREMISES

Development administration, or the public administration of economic development like development planning in the LDC s is mainly a post war phenomenon It emerged both as a discipline and a process through which government programmes for economic development were implemented and administered in the hope of achieving the best po sible results or maximum social gain for society

Significant attempts have been made at achieving a working definition of the term 'development administration ' which is also referred to in some publications as "comparative public administration As a matter of fact development administration from a conceptual point of view is for the most part a byproduct of the comparative study of public administration in developing countries However the substance of development administration is quite solid and tangible

Merle Fainsod emphasised the innovating thrust of development administration In his theoretical approach he stated

> Development administration is a carrier of innovating values As the term is commonly used it embraces the array of new functions assumed by developing countries embarking on the path of modernisation and industrialisation Development administration ordinarily involves the establishment of machinery for planning economic growth and allocating resources to expand national income New administrative units, frequently called nation building departments are set up to foster industrial development, manage new state economic enterprises raise agricultural output develop natural resources

improve the transportation and communication network reform the educational system, and achieve other developmental goals [8]

George Gant seemed to be more concerned with structures organization He noted that

> Development administration is that aspect of public administration in which the focus of attention is on organising and administering public agencies in such a way as to stimulate and facilitate defined programs of social and economic progress It involves the adaptation and the application of management skills directly to the development process [9]

As such therefore Gant s approach to the contextual nature of development administration is that it should encompass the organization of new agencies such as planning organizations and development corporations the reorientation of established agencies such as departments of agriculture the delegation of administrative powers to development agencies and the creation of a cadre of administrators who can provide leadership in stimulating and supporting programmes of social and economic improvement It has the purpose of making change attractive and possible to farmers industrialists businessmen and to the population generally [10]

Fred Riggs s approach to a definitional framework was to point out that there was an essential difference between the administration of development and development of administration—two different but interrelated aspects of development administration His definition couched in simple short run terms was as follows

> Development administration refers to organised efforts to carry out programs or projects thought by those involved to serve development objectives The phrase (development administration) arises by simple analogy with such expressions as agricultural administration educational administration and social welfare administration each of which involves organised efforts to implement agricultural educational and social welfare programs respectively [11]

He noted further that development administration refers not only to a government s efforts to carry out programmes designed to reshape its physical human and cultural environment but also to the struggle to enlarge a government s capacity to engage in such programmes [1]

More recent studies have examined development administration both from a conceptual and an operational point of view Jean Claude Garcia Zamor, for example writes

> Development administration in this context is this bureaucratic process that facilitates or stimulates the achievement of socio economic progress through the utilisation of the talents and expertise of the bureaucrats It involves the mobilisation of bureaucratic skills for speeding up the development process [13]

ACTION ORIENTATION AND GOAL-ORIENTATION

It seems distinctly clear from the foregoing definitions that development administration in contextual and operational terms implies efficient organi zation and management of the developmental activities of a nation in order to attain the developmental goals It means the adaptation of the existing administrative agencies and the creation of new ones so as to develop the needed administrative capability for prompt and effective execution of development policies and programmes Administration for development therefore has essentially to be a goal oriented and action-oriented system Its structures procedures policy making planning programm ng staffing patterns personnel policies and relations with the citizenry have to be fully attuned and harnessed to the processes and goals of development Such a system must, of course be also resilient enough to adapt itself to meet new environmental challenges

Hence development administration is the process of guiding an organisation toward the achievement of progressive political, economic, and social objectives that are authoritatively determined in one manner or another [14] It is the conscious study of the conditions of public administra tion in the less developed countries It is the study of what can be expected of public administration in the particularly difficult cases of the LDC s [15]

INSTRUMENTAL ROLE OF ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCIES

Most developing countries have followed the British model of public administration This model is one where the civil service is not politically controlled Here the situation is simply one where the administrators are not servants of the person who is the head of the state or servants of any other person or group of persons but servants of the public or the people This model of public administration was established by the British

in the middle of the nineteenth century and it was part of an effort to weaken the power of the king and to strengthen that of Parliament through a system that would ensure that public administrators would change their position from that of servants of the king to that of servants of the people Civil servants as such became non partisan It was Parliament as the body representing the people which enacted the laws The public administrators only implemented the laws and carried out the policies and they were expected to do so in a businesslike and efficient manner

This approach toward public administration or development administration in the case of the LDC s is regarded as the orthodox theory The orthodox theory emphasises the instrumental nature of administration The legal duties of the civil service are confined to the implementation of policies It accepts the concept of political neutrality as a salient feature of modern public administrative techniques

The orthodox theory is a theory of formal organization based on a unified and disciplined system of authority Such a system represents a joint or collective effort for achieving specified objectives This model of organization is a meritocracy The civil servant is selected or recruited on the basis of merit and guaranteed a career in the service with career development and promotion based on his or her performance and seniority[16] The orthodox theory is therefore based on the principle of a clear line of authority defining superior subordinate relationships or a pattern of hierarchy Hence the orthodox school of organization is a bureaucracy A rigid bureaucracy which will inevitably become only responsive to itself

EMPIRICAL AND ECOLOGICAL EMPHASES

Since 1962 there has been a significant change in attempts to study development administration The change has been from normative to empirical approaches to ecological approaches Some of the empirical work was done by Ferrel Heady[17] who sought to compare higher civil bureaucracies in a variety of existing political systems asking the following questions

1 What are the dominant internal operating characteristics of the bureaucracy reflecting its composition hierarchical arrangements pattern of specialization and behavioural tendencies ?

2 To what extent is the bureaucracy multifunctional participating in the making of major public policy decisions as well as in their execution ?

3 What are the principal means for exerting control over the bureaucracy from sources outside it, and how effective are these external controls ?

Heady concluded at the end of his book that, although there were still great gaps in the empirical data, we were best prepared to respond on the third question This is not surprising since up to this day as Dunsire points out, the dominant interest of recent scholars in comparative public administration has been the political role of civil servants in development, and the relationship of bureaucracies to political organs [18] On the second question, Heady thought there was by then fair consensus among scholars as to the relationship between modernity and specificity of bureaucratic function, and bureaucracies in developing countries were apt to be concerned with the Almond input and output categories The Almond input categories are political socialisation and recruitment, interest articulation interest aggregation and political communication The outputs are rule making rule application and rule adjudication [19]

Finally, Heady inferred that we are least ready to compare the internal operating characteristics of national bureaucracies Said he, ' [W]e know little about internal behavioral patterns in individual bureaucracies or about degrees of consistency or variation among them This is an area that urgently calls for systematic attention [20] However the picutre has not changed markedly since 1966

PRISMATIC SOCIAL ORDER

Riggs on the other hand had developed what he termed ' The Theory of Prismatic Society [21] By a grossly ill fitting analogy with the prism which is interposed between fused white light and the 'diffracted rainbow of all the colours, he named the intermediate society prismatic —halfway between fused or undifferentiated societies and diffracted or modern societies with high internal specialization In prismatic societies, people hold two ideals at once switching from the traditional set of behaviours to the modern without apparent embarrassment or confusion Conflict between the two is not often articulated but is recognised by the acceptance of an endemic gap between formal expectations and actual behaviour

TEMPORAL DIMENSIONS

Other studies have attempted to examine development administration in terms of its temporal dimensions its spatial dimensions and even through

critical path analysis Dwight Waldo edited the study on temporal dimensions of development administration[22] The major conclusions that can be drawn from this study are as follows

(1) That differing culturally given perceptions of the temporal factor (time) are extremely important in administration and development, and that while these differing perceptions have a special relevance for development in the LDC's they also are highly significant in the industrialized countries

(2) That one of the essential functions of the leader or administrator is the mediation of differing time perceptions and that this is hardly less true in a society emerging from industrialization than a society seeking to become industrialized

(3) That the temporal dimension is extremely important in large scale efforts in the transfer of administrative reforms

SPATIAL DIMENSIONS

The study on spatial dimensions of development administration which appeared as a companion volume to the study on temporal dimensions was edited by James Heaphey[23] The study appears to be less conclusive than the one on temporal aspects and not surprisingly so since one can make a solid argument that a society oriented toward space is a static society whereas a society oriented toward progressive time is a dynamic society

The major work on critical path analysis for development administration was done by Packard[24] By critical path is meant those activities which, taken together determine the shortest overall possible time of a project That is assuming of course that a determination has been made of the event and activity times for a project with the result that it can be distinguished between the various activities of the project There are significant weaknesses in critical path analysis however when applied to development administration The primary weakness stems from the fact that there is imprecise notion of project time Moreover, great difficulty would be encountered in attempting to define efficient objectives

The perspectives and dimensions of development administration are many However, no one would disagree with the conclusion that development administration is necessary for the further promotion of economic growth in

10 *Ibid*

11 Fred W Riggs The Context of Development Administration in Riggs ed *Frontiers of Development Administration* (Durham Duke University Press 1971) p 73

12 *Ibid*

13 Jean Claude Garcia Zamor Micro Bureaucracies and Development Administration " *International Review of Administrative Science* XXXIX (1973) 422

14 Edward W Weidner Development Administraton A New Focus of Research " in F Heady and S L Stokes eds *Papers in Comparative Public Administration* (Ann Arbor Institute of Public Administration University of Michigan 1962) p 98

15 Irving Swerdlow *The Public Administration of Economic Development* (New York Praeger 1975) p 347

16 United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs *Development Administration Current Approaches and Trends in Public Administration for National Development* (New York United Nations 1975) p 15

17 Ferrel Heady *Public Administration A Comparative Perspective* (Englewood Cliffs Prentice Hall 1966)

18 A Dunsire *Administration The Word and the Science* (New York John Wiley 1973) p 143

19 See Gabriel A Almond Introduction A Functional Approach to Comparative Politics in Almond and James S Coleman eds *The Politics of the Developing Areas* (Princeton Princeton University Press 1960) pp 3 64

20 Ferrel Heady *Public Administration A Comparative Perspective* p 106

21 Fred W Riggs *Administration in Developing Countries The Theory of Prismatic Society* (Boston Houghton Mifflin 1964)

22 See Dwight Waldo *Temporal Dimensions of Development Administration* (Durham Duke University Press 1970)

23 James Heaphey *Spatial Dimensions of Development Administration* (Durham Duke University Press 1971)

24 See Philip C Packard *Critical Path Analysis for Development Administration* (The Hague Mouton 1972)

25 M J Esman The Politics of Development Administration in J D Montgomery and W J Siffin eds *Approaches to Development Politics Administration and Change* (New York McGraw Hill 1966) p 71

26 Irma Adelman and Cynthia Taft Morris *Economic Growth and Social Equity in Developing Countries* (Stanford Stanford University Press 1973) pp 107 140

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE

Jon S T Quah

Regressive Administration Some Second Thoughts on the Concept of Development Administration

One of the major consequences of the post war emergence of international and bilateral plans for technical assistance to the developing countries has been increased attention to development administration as a new problem area and focus for research In the view of a Special Committee of the former Comparative Administration Group (CAG), development administration

> [E]merged as practitioners and scholars working overseas increasingly recognized the inadequacy of existing knowledge theories and techniques for coping with the administrative difficulties encountered in underdeveloped countries especially in technical assistance national planning and program-oriented developmental activities [1]

This focus on development administration was reinforced according to Nimrod Raphaeli by the following four factors (1) the scarcity of research studies in the new states and the intangible almost romantic attraction such countries have had for Western scholars (2) the availability of funds to support travel and field research in the social sciences (3) the need of donor countries to obtain more information on the recipient countries and (4) the ' need to abandon existing political and philosophical norms as the emergence of new countries brought problems which political science in its historic Western orientation was not equipped to handle -

DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION CONCEPTUAL VAGUENESS

In line with this emphasis on development administration as both a new problem area and focus for research there has also been an increase in the

nature of administrative change that will be necessary to transform a non developmental system into a developmental one [9]

THE PROCESS AND ITS STUDY

A final aspect of Weidner s paper that is worth mentioning is his distinction between development administration as a process and development administration as a focus of research According to him

> The difference is that the latter has a policy orientation a particular kind of policy orientation as contrasted to the former where development administration is viewed as just another fertile field for collecting research data [10]

The distinction made by Weidner is an important one but his way of illustrating the difference between the two usages of the term is not very satisfactory, as can be seen from the above quotation I submit that a better way of demonstrating the distinction is to (1) refer to development administration as a process as the *dynamics* and phenomena of development administration and (2) regard development administration as a focus of research as the *study* of development administration *per se* Needless to say these two aspects of development administration are closely related and must not be confused with one another

Ever since the publication of Weidner s pioneering article the term development administration has become very popular among students of comparative public administration who frequently make use of the term in their writings [11] Indeed one year later (1963) Professor Swerdlow edited a book entitled *Development Administration Concepts and Problems* However this volume has not succeeded in clarifying the meaning of development administration as only three out of the eight contributors attempted to come to grips with the definitional problem Merle Fainsod s definition of development administration as the establishment of machinery for planning economic growth and mobilizing and allocating resources to expand national income is perhaps the least useful of the three definitions provided because of its restricted focus on economic development [1] A less narrow but equally vague definition is provided by Paul Meadows who refers to development administration as the public management of economic and social change in terms of deliberate public policy [13] Perhaps the most useful definition of development administration that can be found in Swerdlow s volume is that given by Swerdlow himself and he defines development administration

broadly as those special characteristics of poor countries ' that tend to create a different role for government '[14] While it can be argued by any defender of Swerdlow s book that all the special features of developing countries have been discussed in the various essays nevertheless the point can be made that the value of the volume could have been enhanced if the editor had compiled a checklist of these special characteristics in the form of a short epilogue

ADMINISTRATIVE PATTERNS IN DEVELOPING NATIONS

Such a catalogue has been provided by Ferrel Heady who has identified the following five patterns of administration in the new states (1) the basic pattern of public administration is imitative rather than indigenous (2) the bureaucracies are deficient in skilled manpower necessary for developmental programs (3) the bureaucracies place emphasis on non production-directed orientations (4) the bureaucracies are characterised by a high degree of formalism (as defined by Fred Riggs[15]) and (5) the bureaucracies have a 'generous measure of operational autonomy [16] Even though Heady has gone one step further than Swerdlow by specifying the common administrative patterns in the developing countries, such a checklist *per se* does not constitute a definition of development administration as such Rather this list of patterns identifies the conditions or constraints influencing the process of development administration in the developing countries but does not say anything about the process itself

TWO SIDEDNESS OF DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

What is needed then is first an intermediate definition of development administration, one that is neither too broad (like those provided by Swerdlow and Heady) nor too narrow (like Fainsod s or Meadows definitions) Secondly it should be noted that development administration is a complex concept and has several dimensions [17] The definition to be adopted here need not take into account all the various dimensions of the term, but it should at least incorporate two essential items or what Fred Riggs has described as the ' two sidedness of development administration (1) the administration of developmental programmes and (2) the development of administrative practices and institutions which increases the capacity of the administrative system to implement such programmes [18] Reference to the relevant literature shows that there has been a shift in emphasis from definitions of development administration which focus only on the first aspect—administration of developmental programmes—to those focusing on both aspects

More satisfactory definitions of development administration have been provided by the participants of the seminar on Development Administration in Asia, held at the East West Center University of Hawaii in Summer 1966 The five definitions of development administration formulated by the Asian participants have been summarized by Hsueh, the sixth Asian member at the Seminar in the following way

> Jose Abueva (Philippines) defines development administration as the administration of development programs in the economic social and political spheres including programs for improving the organization and management of the bureaucracy as a major instrument for national development
>
> Inayatullah (Pakistan) describes development administration as the complex of organizational arrangements for the achievement of action through public authority in pursuance of (1) social and economic goals and (2) nation building It presupposes policies plans and programs with a distinct developmental bias as well as a bureaucracy which consciously and continuously seeks to modernize itself to meet the demands of planned change
>
> B S Khanna (India) regards development administration as an administration geared to the tasks of economic, social, and political development which has been induced by an increasing tempo momentum and diversity emanating from the elite and groups of people
>
> Hahn Been Lee (Korea) defines development administration as the problems involved in so managing a government or an agency thereof that it acquires an increasing capability to adapt to and act upon new and continuing social changes with a view to achieving a sustained growth in the political economic and social fields
>
> Nguyen Duy Xuan (Vietnam) considers development administration to mean the administration of development programs that is, programs designed to achieve nation building objectives and to promote socio economic progress It is a two element concept (1) the appropriate training of personnel and (2) the improvement of existing administrative organizations and establishment of new institutions for the implementation of development programs [19]

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE

ACTION ORIENTATION AND CAPABILITY ENHANCEMENT

A closer look at these five definitions indicates that (1) all the definitions emphasize the creation of an effective administration that is capable of bringing about nation building and socio economic development, and (2) all the definitions with the exception of Khanna s definition refer either directly or indirectly to the two sidedness of development administration However, the most concise and succinct definition which takes into account the dual nature of the term was provided by Professor Harry J Friedman one of the American participants at the seminar who defined development administration in terms of the following two elements

(1) the implementation of programmes designed to bring about modernity (i e, socio economic progress and nation building) and

(2) the changes within an administrative system which increase its capacity to implement such programmes [20]

Friedman s definition is useful but it can only be adopted here after some elaboration on the nature of the various developmental programmes and the administrative changes as well as a brief discussion of the content of development administration The various programmes that come under the purview of development administration include the substantive action programmes in the following areas agriculture community development education engineering family planning industry public health public works transportation and urban development [21] The changes within an administrative system in the second part of Friedman s definition refer to the development of those administrative practices and institutions that are necessary for the implementation of the different developmental programmes [22]

ADMINISTRATION OF DEVELOPMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF ADMINISTRATION

Given this two sided view of development administration it follows that the content of development administration is made up of the following three dimensions sectoral development socio political functions and administrative functions *per se* Sectoral development refers to the developmental programmes in the areas listed above The important point to note here is that failure in sectoral development is caused by the problems of human organization of administration and the mobilization of social resources and not by technical ignorance or scarcity of human and material resources [23]

The second aspect socio political functions is concerned with the type of environment that is conducive for administrative development What are the administrative conditions necessary for the most effective develop ment administration ? This question was posed by Victor Thompson and answered by him thus

> Among the purely administrative objectives of the development administrator should be the following an innovative atmosphere, the operationalizing and wide sharing of planning goals the combining of planning (thinking) with action (doing), a cosmopolitan atmosphere the diffussion of influence the increasing toleration of interdependence and the avoidance of bureaupathology [24]

The final dimension deals with the traditional administrative functions such as tax collection civil service organization, personnel management budgeting planning organizational structures communications and control system and how these functions are performed in the developing countries [25]

In short development administration as used in this paper refers to *the administration of developmental programmes designed to promote nation building and socio economic development and the concomitant development of administrative practices and institutions necessary for the implementation of such programmes* This definition implies that the term ' development administration should only be employed to describe those countries which have succeeded in satisfying the twin criteria specified In other words development administration should not be used indiscriminately to refer to the nature of public administration in the developing countries or to any of the five meanings commonly ascribed to it by Weidner in his 1962 pioneering article

SEARCH FOR INDICATORS

As development administration is not a guaranteed end product of the efforts by governments in the developing countries to administer various development programmes it is necessary for us to know when development administration has occurred Are there any indicators of development administration in a country ? The answer to be brief is that for the moment scholars in public administration still do not know very much about development administration especially in terms of formulating reliable and valid indicators for measuring the level of development administration in a country In this connection Norman T Uphoff has observed

The 'knowledge gap' in development administration is dismayingly large despite some twenty years of effort on the theory and practice of D A One need not be a devotee of quantitative methods to suggest that perhaps the greatest shortcomings have been in the area of measurement One wants to know *when* advances if any, have been made and also their *extent*, as well as *which* administrative practices if any augment bureaucratic capabilities and if possible to know, by *how much*[26]

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS AND ORGANIZATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS

On the basis of my own research on administrative reform and development administration in Singapore[27] I would like to suggest two indicators of development administration Administrative reform is one of the major strategies employed by political leaders in the new states to promote development administration in their own countries, and the level of organizational effectiveness is an indication of the extent to which administrative reform has been implemented[28] Development administration has taken place if the administrative reform effort is successfully implemented and culminates in the improved performance of the organizations created as a result of the reform. Conversely development administration has not occurred if the administrative reform is a failure and the organization(s) formed does not show a higher level of organizational effectiveness Thus the extent of successful implementation of administrative reform and the level of effectiveness of the organization(s) being reformed are two indicators of development administration

CONDITIONS OF REGRESSIVE ADMINISTRATION

It is perhaps useful and necessary to introduce into the study of comparative public administration a concept which takes into account and describes the conditions of administration in those countries which have not been able to carry out administrative reform successfully or to improve the organizational effectiveness of the governmental agencies responsible for administering the various development programmes. For lack of a better term the concept of regressive administration can be coined to refer to a situation where development administration does not result from a government's attempt at administrative reform and one where the organizations undergoing reform are unable to attain their goals The unsuccessful implementation of administrative reform and lack of improvement in

organizational performance make matters worse and may even lead to a further deterioration of existing conditions as the reform effort could have increased resistance to the government concerned and reduced its legitimacy as a result of its inability to deliver the goods Thus the use of the concept of regressive administration removes the unilinear bias inherent in the concept of development administration and implies that efforts to administer development programmes in the new states are not always met with success but with failure also

In sum this paper suggests that a new concept of regressive adminis tration be employed to characterize the conditions in those new states which have not succeeded in administering their development programmes rather than a blanket use of the term development administration to describe such efforts in these countries In other words the concept of development administration should be reserved for the description of those countries which have succeeded in implementing their development programmes

NOTES

1 *Development Administration* Report by a Special Committee CAG Occasional Paper (Bloomington International Development Research Centre Indian University 1964) p 6 hereafter referred to as *Development Administration*

2. Nimord Raphaeli 'Comparative Public Administration An Overview in Nimrod Raphaeli ed *Readings in Comparative Public Administration* (hereafter cited as *Readings*) (Boston Allyn and Bacon 1967) pp 17 18

3 Irving Swerdlow Introduction in Swerdlow ed *Development Administration Concepts and Problems* (Syracuse Syracuse University Press 1963) p ix

4 *Loc cit*

5 Samuel Huntington *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven Yale Univer sity Press 1967) pp 1 92

6 See Bernard Schaffer *The Administrative Factor* (London Frank Cass 1973) p 241 and U L Goswami 'The Structure of Development Administration " *Indian Journal of Public Administration* 1 (April June 1955) 110 118

7 Edward Weidner Development Administration A New Focus for Research " in Ferrel Heady and Sybil Stokes eds *Papers in Comparative Public Administration*

(Ann Arbor Institute of Public Administration University of M chigan 1972) pp 97-98

8 *Ibid* p 98

9 V A Pai Panandiker D velopm nt Administration An Approach in Raphaeli ed *Readings* p 200

10 Weidner D velopment Administration p 102

11 For a different view see William Mackenzie *Politics and Social Science* (Middlesex Penguin Books 1967) p 356 fn 2 and William Wood Development Administration An Objection *Indian Journal of Public Administration* XIII (October December 1967) 702-715

12 Merle Fainsod The Structure of Development Administration in Swerdlow ed *Devel pment Administration* p 2

13 Paul Meadows Motivation for Change and Development Administration in Swerdlow ed *Development Administration* p 86

14 Swerdlow Introduction in Swerdlow ed *Development Administration* p xiv

15 Fred Riggs *The Ecology of Public Administration* (New Delhi Asia Publishing House 1961) pp 91 92 defines formalism as follows By *formalism* I wish to distinguish the extent to which a discrepancy exists between the prescriptive and the descriptive between the formal and effective power between the impression given by constitution laws and regulations organization charts and statistics and actual practices and facts of government and society The greater the discrepancy between the formal and effective the more formalistic is a system

16 Ferrel Heady *Public Administration A Comparative Perspective* (Englewood Cliffs Prentice Hall 1966) pp 69-72

17 For details on the other dimensions of development administration see for example James Heaphey ed *Spatial Dimensions of Public Administration* (Durham Duke University Press 1971) J N Khosla Development Administration—New Dimensions *Indian Journal of Public Administration* XIII (January-March 1967) 16-31 and Dwight Waldo ed *Temporal Dimensions of Development Administration* (Durham Duke University Press 1970)

18 See Fred Riggs The Idea of Development Administration, in Edward Weidner ed *Development Administration in Asia* (Durham Duke University Press 1970) p 32, and *Development Administration* pp 6-7

19 Shou Sheng Hsueh Technical Co operation in Development Administration in South and Southeast Asia in Weidner ed *Development Administration in Asia* pp 341-342

20 Harry Friedman Administrative Roles in Local Governments " in Weidner ed *Development Administration in Asia* p 254

21 Milton Esman and John Montgomery Systems Approaches to Technical Cooperation The Role of Development Administration " *Public Administration Review* XXIX (September October 1969) p 512 and *Development Administration* pp 6–7

22 *Development Administration* p 7

23 *Loc cit*

24 Victor Thompson Administrative Objectives for Development Administration " *Administration Science Quarterly* IX (June 1964) 93–94

25 *Development Administration* p 8

26 Norman Uphoff The Development of Indicators for Development Administration *Philippine Journal of Public Administration* XVII (July 1973) 258

27 See Jon S T Quah Administrative Reform and Development administration in Singapore A Comparative Study of the Singapore Improvement Trust and the Housing and Development Board " (unpublished Ph D dissertation Florida State University 1975) pp 591–592

28 For more details on the concept of administrative reform see Jon S T Quah Administrative Reform Conceptual Analysis *Philippine Journal of Public Administration* XX (January 1976) 50–67

Introducing EDP to Local Government Can an OD Approach be of Help ?

Arie Halachmi

Public officials and public agencies are being exposed to applied behavioural science and that loosely demarcated sector of it termed organization development (OD) with increasing frequency Strategies for dealing with organizational problems for enhancing the effectiveness of organizations and for organization renewal and change scarcely considered a decade ago have become familiar to many scholars and practitioners [1] The new National Training and Development Service for State and Local Government supported by Inter governmental Personnel Act funds[2] suggests the power of the movement toward increased utilization of applied behavioural science based strategies There have been and no doubt will continue to be significant applications at the federal level as well

THE STRATEGY OF ORGANIZATION DEVELOPMENT

Organization development is perhaps the most familiar term employed to indicate the approach Though still very much in a period of definition it may be considered at this stage in its evolution as in the words of Warren Bennis an educational strategy adopted to bring about a planned organizational change [3] It focuses systematically on people in organizations and on values attitudes relations and organizational climate [4] Emphasis is on individuals as they comprise a system rather than as they exist separately Usually (OD) programmes are undertaken in organizations feeling some stress With the assistance of a consultant a behavioural scientist who works collaboratively with people in the organization learning proceeds in a variety of ways employing the experiences and behaviour of those participating in the effort Thus it is experientially based utilizing data generated by the participants Often times democratic and humanistic value preferences explicitly undergird OD programmes, which lead in the

direction of establishing such organizational characteristics as openness and authenticity in inter personal relations, mutual trust a capacity to confront and resolve differences at the inter personal level and collaborative problem solving behaviour The assumption is that the organization which nurtures and manifests democratic and humanistic values will facilitate the individual development of its members develop more effective inter personal and inter group working relations work effectively toward achieving organiza tional objectives and maintain a capacity for adaptation and change as exigencies may require [5]

Given the youth of organization development movement there are naturally many open questions as to its bases impact and effectiveness The critical and empirical literature is somewhat limited especially related to public organizations Readily available material has generally emphasized the nature and objectives of OD programmes and certain implications of publicness which may constrain OD efforts [6] What follows is a description and assessment of one modest experience with planned change in a public organization The concepts employed in the model actually utilized bear some relationship to those associated with organization development programmes And the prospect of an extensive OD programme was a continu ing issue in the situation Thus the experience is relevant to operational questions about limited planned change and more ambitious organization development enterprises which stem from the publicness of public agencies

THE CONTEXT

The desire to facilitate the creation of computer driven comprehensive integrated information system brought the federal government to ponsor demonstration projects in several cities[7] The purpose of the programme was to attempt to apply the state of the art in information systems to local government Originally it was intended that all routine decisions from utility billing to the issuance of dog licenses would be automated thereby increasing productive capacity At the same time, it was expected that software would be developed that would allow the data produced by the automation of routine decisions to be handled in an integrated fashion so that managers could be provided information—status reports analyses projections and the like—to aid them in making rationalpolicy and programme choices Each project was to be carried forward by a consortium consi ting of a city, a firm with software expertise and a university

Those who prepared the Request for Proposals were quite conscious of the magnitude of change for the cities receiving awards if project objectives were realized They also were sensitive to the way employees might react in the face of fundamental changes as suggested by the comprehensive imposition of a sophisticated new technology Accordingly in the Request for Proposals considerable emphasis was placed on orientation and training programmes aimed at employees and communities to proceed along with the more technical tasks

BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

A consortium consisting of the city, the private firm and the University was awarded a contract for the development of a full system and proposed to deal with the prospect of change in a planned fashion utilizing organization development concepts [8] Four basic assumptions lay beneath that portion of the proposal The first concerned the magnitude of prospective organizational change Automation of routine operations would necessitate fundamental and pervasive alterations in organizational structure procedures job content the rhythm of work, relations between superiors and subordinates interaction patterns among managers and the distribution of power within the organization among other things For example it was likely that not only would rank and file clerical employees find it necessary to master new terminologies and methodologies they would have less discretion over the use of their time because of the omnipresence of machine schedules They would have fewer decision making opportunities have less control over job related methods and procedures and be subjected to a much more visible and intensive evaluation of job performance And of course some would face the prospect of job elimination Change projections of like magnitude were made for those in managerial positions

The second assumption was that the prospect of such extensive changes even when their exact nature could not be known for a long s retch of time would create anxiety among employees and might indeed spark a reaction against project activity Uncertainty about the consequenses of an ill-defined information system for jobs status and like might lead to a refusal to cooperate or even quiet sabotage

The third assumption was that the tendency of the technically oriented consultants would be to work in relative isolation rather than intimately with the client organization Client inputs would be limited to what the consultants thought necessary Consultant goals and objectives of a technical

nature would dominate However, if city staff in significant numbers could work with the consultants from the start, the nature of the system to be constructed and the consequent organizational changes could be planned and implemented in a way consonant with local goals and objectives Further an integrated approach would allow city employees to learn how to develop and operate the system in the course of its initial formulation against the day when the city would have to rely on its own expertise for system continuation and adaptation over time Not only would participation in the research and developmental process ensure that the product would be appropriate for the locale and manageable within the limits of city resources, it would serve as a prophylactic against negative perhaps defeating reactions steming from fear, suspicion and lack of information

The fourth assumption was that the city s own organizational resources to deal with problems of basic change were limited

DEVELOPING ORGANIZATIONAL CAPABILITY FOR CHANGE AND PARTICIPATION

Operationally, these assumptions were translated into a process intended to build within the organization a capability for change and participation with project staff in project activities in an integrated way It was not the intention to lull or manipulate employees into acceptance Quite the contrary, it was to energize them and spark their central involvement in planning and implementing change The over arching objective was to recognize and deal with the interrelationships between the social and technological dimensions of the organization and to employ behavioural science percepts and information technology simultaneously and compatability as the organization was reshaped by its own members More specifically a training programme was indicated which aimed to

(1) Develop the organization s capability for defining goals and evaluating progress toward goal attainment

(2) Develop the organization s capacity to determine information systems requirements in terms of goals

(3) Develop the organization s basic understanding of the nature and operation of systems characterized by technological sophistication

(4) Develop the organization s capacity to analyze evaluate and respond to problems pertaining to the interface between technological and social systems

(5) And develop the organization s capacity to change the system and associated processes in response to the consequences of the system s use and changes in info mation needs[9]

THE PROGRAMME

Three interrelated approaches were to be employed in relation to these objectives Information as to what was happening would be supplied Appropriate training of a technical character would be provided But the initial emphasis was on laboratory or T(training) group sessions in which inter personal and group process skills would be honed and problems at that level dealt with The training objective was to assist the city employees project staff and other participants in developing their own resources for effectively dealing with questions about goals and impact Inter personal and group processes matters would be reached through a mechanism of actual project related questions and dilemmas introduced into the training seminars, especially concerning impact

ENHANCING OBJECTIVITY IN DECISION MAKING

The early group experiences would also introduce the notion of operating under conditions of uncertainty, a charateristic which would mark at least the initial stages of project activity New organizational arrangements might well be called for by the system certainly new patterns of intra organizational relationships would be required The design through the nature of the training groups, incorporated a basis for structural unfreezing or allowing the participants an opportunity to consider alternatives by introducing new notions of organizing for work Both the design of the system and its operation could be expected to require new modes of goal setting problem solving and decision making which would emphasize collaboration and rationality in terms of specific and realistic goals and priorities to a greater extent than in the past Starting with project develop ment related questions means of addressing problems and decisions that would be compatible with the demands likely to be made by a system in operation were to be introduced, hence a heavy initial emphasis was to be on goal setting decision making which would rely significantly on objective criteria and collaborative processes The purpose in these areas was not to indoctrinate through a familiarization process It was to introduce the participants to the nature of information systems impact as suggested by the literature assist them in seeing the stakes and begin laying a basis for their involvement in dealing with problems or change enjoying enhanced inter personal and group resources

Not only would decision making likely become, in a sense more objective, it would involve and result in much more objective and open evaluation of people and performance This together with other considerations related to systems development the facilitation of city and project staff integration and employee apprehension led to a strong emphasis on the enhancement of interpersonal communication skills It was considered quite important to stimulate movement toward a climate of openness among people in which complete and reliable information was rewarded problems exposed as a result were dealt with but not punished and information withholding was dealt with similarly

IMPLEMENTING THE TRAINING PROGRAMME

When time came to implement a training programme it was necessary to alter the developmental dimension considerably

That part of the initial formulation which relied on behavioural science concepts had been too intricate and too different Some key city officials it turned out did not fully accept all the training assumptions and concepts at least not to the extent assumed during the proposal writing period There was a tendency to minimize the range and depth of likely organizational changes[10] Experiential learning and focus on interpersonal and group processes were somewhat alien to their notions The large amount of employee time required *for implementation, total organizational involvement* and the apparent egalitarian (and suspected power equalizing) character of the programme were sources of deep concern These feelings were largely shared by the technical consultants

Subsequently the agreement regarding training beyond standard technical efforts was clarified with city officials along the following lines

(1) There would be an initial training sequence carried out over a six month period

(2) Involvement of city personnel would be limited to the directors of major operating divisions (e g , public safety) and their *department heads (e g police chief)*, plus a few other key staff members Altogether the number involved was to be about 45 out of approximately 850 city employees

(3) Some training sessions would involve just members of the Applied Research Management (ARM) Committee principally consisting

of the city manager his staff directors of divisions and the data processing manager Other sessions would involve members of this group with their department heads The ARM Committee had been dormant for some months and was activated at the urging of the training group to serve as the regulating and decision making authority on OD so far as the city was concerned with appropriate recognition of the ultimate authority of the city manager

(4) Designated city employees were freed to spend an average of four hours per month in the programme

(5) The seminar series was to be introductory low level and exploratory so far as OD was concerned rather than intensive and restrained Major topics to be covered were introduction to OD team building communication and organizational change problem solving group processes and consultation and inter-departmental collaboration

(6) At the end of the series a decision would be made whether to move ahead with a thorough going OD programme and, if so the nature of that programme

Some alterations in the sequence were made in the process of implementation The first event, originally planned as an introduction to organization development for the ARM Committee, dealt with goal setting for that group and contained some rudimentary training in human relations The seminars in response to local preferences tended to be structured Topics were adjusted somewhat as training progressed In the series concepts associated with planned change and organization development were introduced and employed by the trainers and participants in various ways

Difficulty was encountered in explicitly relating to change in the generic sense and in the context of the information systems project because of the wariness of some officials in key positions But as the seminar series progressed the treatment of project related conditions and problems became more explicit in the training sessions themselves and through related activities of the training staff In one of the final training sessions a day was devoted to rating a large number of potential computer applications which had been identified by the design teams This involved simulating what the ARM Committee would actually do a few days later with some

additions intended to encourage exploration of problems associated with making decisions on matters of significant technological complexity under such circumstances

At the end of the structured series a two day introductory OD work shop was held for the ARM Committee Its members were to decide on the future nature and intensity of training The group resolved the question of continuing with a more intensive OD programme in the affirmative An explicit task force was elected as the proper emphasis The group identified 53 major organizational problems, then selected four for initial attention They were (1) the relationship between the Data Processing Department and the project staff (2) the project s future organizational impact and role of the Personnel Department in transition (3) inter departmental communication and (4) community awareness of the project and its significance Task forces were formed around each of the problems and began to function For a variety of reasons, the training group responsible for providing OD consultation withdrew from the project a bit later After fits and sputters over a period of months the task force efforts came to an end [11]

RESULTS

In varying degrees those who participated in training sessions learned something about the project itself its probable consequences, communications relations with consultants problem diagnosis, collaboration and decision making [12] Through training the anxiety of many city officials appeared to be relieved in the sense that they came to realize that an honest effort was being made to help them deal with whatever effects project activity might have They were sensitized to a variety of project related issues and participated in some project related activities Many learned that they could handle the new and the innovative and were not required to serve as passive figures or to be victims The activation and development of the Applied Research Management Committee at the initiative of the training group was the most important evidence of this direction Training was provided to build its effectiveness as a group and it asserted itself with increasing vigour in relation to project questions during this period

Over time the behaviour of the technical consultants appeared to be affected Concerns for the reactions of city employees to project actions for the quality of interactions with city officials and for limited involvement by city officials in project related decision making grew within the context of some appreciation of the basic perspectives upon which the training design

rested Technical staff came to rely somewhat on interventions by 'outsider' to deal with communications and interpersonal relations problems encountered in dealing with city employees Considerable importance came to be attached to providing comprehensive, though not necessarily complete information to city officials

The technical consultants relative openness—in combination with interest in and a propensity toward involvement on the part of some city employees, linkages such as that provided by the training sessions themselves the ARM Committee and informal interventions by the training staff—seemed to result in modest but significant entry for city goals and objectives into project processes

ASSESSMENT

Though limited the experience just described provides some basis for comment on assertions about general characteristics of public organizations and their relationship to planned change efforts of the type employed in this instance and by modest extrapolation more comprehensive organizational development programmes The assertions are stated (perhaps overstated) in proposition form followed immediately by explanatory comments about them and then by a discussion of their validity in this situation [13]

ACCOUNTABILITY AS A CONSTRAINT ON O D

The results highlighted the fact that the requisites of public accountability and responsibility impede and constrain organization development programmes Legal provisions specifying organizational features such as structure and personnel systems to the extent that they cannot be altered intra-organizationally limit opportunities for change Political officials such as legislators and city councilmen who oversee public organizations further limit discretion. Public executives impelled by the expectation that they will control the organization in the public interest are motivated to behave or to appear to behave in a highly controlling directive manner Further they are reluctant to sanction new and different organizational activities which might create difficulties in their relations with elected officials

These are plausible cautions and one can envisage circumstances in which they might become realities In this case however no legal constraints were encountered which would have seriously limited organizational change The city council was not involved and not apparently concerned

with training activities though perhaps they should have been[14] The city manager was sensitive to the implications of his position as chief administrator and his responsibility to the council for the administration of city affairs but he did not behave in an authoritarian way, or present himself externally in that manner Nor did he appear inherently reluctant to sponsor innovative programmes such as organizational development so long as he felt capable of defending them as being sound and as offering reasonable opportunities for benefits to the city The relative clarity of manager and council roles and the manager s primacy in the administrative sphere as compared with the situation in other organizational settings may mean that organization development efforts in such situations are less vulnerable to impediments presented by elected officials

Responsibility does not mean only a set of external controls operating to keep public organizations on a publically acceptable course There is also a positive twist to the concept when public officials feel a commitment to serve the public well The responsibility to serve the public in the best way possible seemed genuinely felt by city employees This caused them to be quite open to activities which seemed to offer promise of enhancing their ability to perform even though the approach might be unfamiliar and involve risks[15]

DYSFUNCTIONALITY OF BUREAUCRATIC CLIMATE ON O D

The study revealed that the hyper bureaucratic form of public organizations and the resulting organizational climate are antithetical to the nature and objectives of organization development programmes Public organizations tend to be exquisitely pyramidal in structure and to place heavy emphasis on bureaucratic forms of superior subordinate relationships They tend to be formalistic rigid and *status quo* oriented Procedural certainty is highly valued Conformism caution and secrecy abound

On the surface the organization in this case seemed to manifest many of these characteristics But the underlying reality was somewhat different A certain informality and ease in superior subordinate relations and across organizational levels and lines were apparent A propensity toward openness and readiness to confront were evidenced by many under the proper circumstances Perhaps more significantly there was a willingness to seriously consider and experiment with alternative organizational arrangements procedures and behaviours

The customary and the familiar did have an impact however Learning about behaviour for the sake of learning about behaviour in unstructured situations had little appeal In fact participants were uncomfortable to the point of disaster so far as learning was concerned under such circumstances Definition was necessary as to why such a programme wa being provided and the general purpose to be served It was not expected that prospective changes in behaviour or organization be specified with great exactitude but that acceptable goals such as better communication or better working relationships between departments be indicated Specification of the boundaries defining the data with which it was proper to deal was desired It was apparently the specification not whether the boundaries were expansive or limited that was important And some advance information as to what in general would be expected of the participants in each session was desired In short rather clear understanding of the rules of the game between trainers and participants was vital for successful training sessions

Of equal importance training around a task which the participants could see easily as relevant for their work was fundamental to effectiveness There to learn things which would help them and the organization, they tended to become impatient with activities or exercises of a generic character even though the behaviour used as a basis for learning was occuring then and within work groups Despite the consultants attempts to relate what wa happening in the session to day to-day activities it was difficult for the participants to make that transition And somewhat ironically the more obviously relevant the task or the problem to be dealt with the more open and responsive the participants became [16]

ORGANIZATIONAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL COMPLEXITY AS BARRIERS TO O D

The researches underscored the point that the organizational and environmental complexity and variability of public organizations impede organization development efforts Pronounced differences in interest and orientations of organizational subunits tied to constituencies and clientele groups in the environment constrain participation and limit the possibilities for consensus on problem definition and resolution

Differences in interests and variations in the characteristics of organizational subunits such as management style cohesion openness to innovation and degrees of interaction with other parts of the organization

were apparent Although political ties in the community did not seem to be involved, there were some indications of a potential to resist participation and to refrain from collaboration on cross-organizational problems In fact one major department, funded in large part by federal and state sources seeing its functions as clearly separable from and independent of other city activities and feeling seriously threatened by the looming information system only reluctantly participated in the activities when it did at all Conceivably if the programme had continued various subunits or their administrators might have felt sufficiently threatened so as to abstain or resist and there would have been little anyone could have done formally to alter the situation But to discuss such possibilities only in terms of particularistic interests or potential threats to sub units and their capacity to resist if they wish leaves out an important part of the equation The impact of perceived threats or the possibilities of undesirable changes from the subunit perspective must be considered in relation to possible advantages in cooperation In this situation participation in organization development activities might have been seen variously as providing an opportunity to shape the nature of those activities in order to minimize threats or to cooperate within limits when to do otherwise would open one to criticism from subordinates colleagues and superiors More positively, even though a participant might have to relinquish something of value or attempt difficult changes in behaviour there was the promise of positive gains These included learning how to deal with organizational problems in new ways getting information about the information systems project, participating in shaping its general directions and learning how to deal with the implications of that reality Though based on observation rather than hard data it seems that in such a situation potential participants are capable of evaluating the likely costs and benefits of meaningful participation in a fairly sophisticated way In evaluating the appropriateness the nature and the likely effects of organization development programmes in public agencies, the potential of public executives to pay certain costs in exchange for comparable benefits should not be overlooked

LOW MANAGERIAL PROFESSIONALISM AS AN IMPEDIMENT TO O D

The analysis made it clear that certain characteristics of public executives particularly their low level of professionalism in management as compared with executives in the private sector and their preferences for the other organizational improvment strategies are impediments to organizational

development programmes Most of the participants in this programme lacked professional training in management and did not identify themselves as professional managers Rather they were firemen engineers and accountants Lacking background and this identification they were not familiar with a range of ideas about management and organizations Most tended not to evaluate their operations from a management perspective nor were they naturally inclined to initiate management type improvements Yet this lack of professionalism itself did not seem to limit receptivity to discussions of organizational problems or management concerns

It is probably true that the administrators generally thought in terms of strategies for organizational improvement other than those contained in organizational development programmes Interest in an information system to crown a number of other innovative technological efforts employing computers was basic in this case development focussed on people in organizations was complementary and supplementary

To venture outside the case for a moment the phenomenon may not be simply a matter of preference, it may be an objective response to a reasonable sense of needs From the organization s perspective other approaches to building capability may be rooted in the reality of the situation Fundamental problems with which the organization must deal such as urban transportation may yield only to the application of complex systems technology It may be that for good cause very basic skills training is the highest priority, based on the interests of employees the organization as a whole and the polity which it serves Soft developmental activity was accepted in this situation because certain key officials realized its relevance for the broader information systems effort in combination with more traditional forms of training And federal dollars were available to pay for it If it had been a matter of the city s own priorities and funds in view of other pressing needs and glaring gaps such as the unavailability of standard skills enhancement training courses for employees it is almost certain there would have been no such programme

FINANCIAL SCARCITY AS AN OBSTACLE TO O D

It also became clear that public organizations lack the financial resources necessary to carry out organizational development programmes Money to pay for the necessary expertise—for the consultants or for specifically trained staff members—is no doubt limited in many instances It was so in this case if there had to be reliance on the city s own resources Although the costs

entailed in purchasing the necessary expertise can be astounding, the increased availability of funds from outside sources such as the Inter governmental Personnel Act and shared revenue may ease the situation

The more basic and intractable constraint may be the availability of employee time for participation Meaningful organization development programmes require extensive employee participation and a large number of hours to be expended in concentrated periods Public organizations particularly those at the local level, tend to be understaffed in any event In addition to the fact that there are tasks that must be performed there must be visibility in the performance And when citizens initiate contacts there must be staff available to receive them Furthermore time away from regular duties for training especially when that training may not be clearly and easily related to regular duties is something about which councils and consequently public executives can get excited

Limitations on the time available for employee participation was a real constraint in the programme being described This was one of the important reasons for restricting the participation to a certain level of the organization Total hours freed for those approved for participation were considered insufficient Impact was further diminished by requirements that most training sessions be relatively short in duration separated by considerable periods of time and located so that participants could have easy access to their offices

CONCLUSION

Overall for those who participated in this programme as consultants, the experience substantiated the original assessments of the situation and the appropriateness of the concepts underlying the training programme The notion of planned change centering on the social dimension of the organization linked with a process of technological change is not inherently defective and offers considerable promise Whether the effort in this particular instance was worthwhile given its truncated nature is open to question. Evaluations indicated that from the participants perspective the specific training events generally were successful and beneficial Unfortunately it has not been possible to systematically examine the long run effects of the training on the organization or the development of the information system Intuitively however based on fragmentary information about the post-training period it seems that there were positive consequences

So far as organization development of a more comprehensive nature is concerned the case suggests that a number of characteristics of public organizations sometime seen as constraints may in fact not be present or may not have the hypothesized effects once entry or the acceptance of organization Development by relevant officials is attained One might reasonably ask does not the fact that entry so far as comprehensive organization development in the most meaningful sense was not attained, and the fact that training activities were not continued belie the assertion ? The question of resources was certainly a factor in these decisions as was a feeling on the part of some officials that although organization development might be useful other priorities ranked higher But the more significant factors so far as lack of entry was concerned seemed unrelated to the publicness of the organization in question The manner in which project efforts were organized both at the consortium level and within the university created impediments to the establishment of an effective consultant-client relationship [17] The training staff s responsibilities in additional areas for technical training and for community and employee orientation, also caused other issues to be confused with questions about organization development And the relative inexperience of the training staff particularly given the magnitude and nature of the undertaking was a source of difficulty

The experience does suggest certain problems associated with consultant technique and role especially at the local level First there are the *problems associated with limitations on employee time available* for participation and the necessity to find ways and means for working effectively within narrow time constraints Second there are the problems associated with the demands for immediately visible work related relevance in artificial training groups to the extent they are necessary because of time and resources limitations. Third there are the problems associated with the possibility that consultants may find a much more varied set of interrelated basic sources of organizational ineffectiveness than is generally encountered in the private sector These sources may include formal structure work procedures, and level of substantive skills in addition to problems at the interpersonal and group levels And there may be neither opportunity nor the resources to deal with them except in a highly interrelated way What mix of consultant skills and what consulting norms are required for such circumstances ? Finally, there is the associated problem of the manner in which public executives are accustomed to seeing and employing consultants which may make it difficult to separate the roles of process consultant and

expert resource There may be considerable pressure on consultants to say what ought to be, as contrasted with helping the organization define what ought to be or the problems that are pinching then helping it reach the defined objectives [18]

Obviously much more extensive examination of the implications of publicness for the conduct of organization development and exploration of possible adaptations in technique and role are required during this period of experimentation with the approach in the public sector But there are other more fundamental questions the answers to which cannot be known fully except on the basis of the analysis of experience To what extent are the techniques generally employed actually effective in achieving the objectives of OD programmes ? To what extent are public organizations actually as advocates of organization development presume them to be machine like rigid and generally manifesting all of the undesirable features associated with the term ' bureaucracy ? Even with utmost observance of the norms of consulting might not the very presence and nature of the consultant s activities have a manipulative effect leading organizational members towards atleast a surface acceptance of his or her values or even into action steps compatible with those values but counter to their own ? Do the organizational characteristics sought by OD programmes explicitly proceeding from a set of democratic and humanistic values actually have the presumed consequences so far as the general well being of organizational members and organizational effectiveness are concerned ? Are there variations according to organizational type ? To what extent and under what circumstances might serious organizational malfunctions result from a successful OD programme ?[19] What problems are raised for democratic political systems by change agents who employ their expertise in behavioural science politically to achieve personal objective whether by resorting to politics to institute an OD programme or bring about substantive programme changes ?[20] To what extent are the preferred organizational forms as often found in the organization development literature compatible with the norms of democratic responsibility and accountability ? Are there possibilities that an alteration in the basis of legitimate behaviour from the public interest to the interest of organization members might occur ? And if so what would be the significance for the outputs of the organization ? Questions at this level too must not be forgotten no matter the quite powerful attraction which many of us concerned about the effectiveness of public organizations may feel for the concept and objectives associated with organization development

NOTES

1 For indications of this movement see the symposium on Training for Municipal Administrators *PM* LVI (April 1974) and Symposium on Organization Development " *Public Administration Review (PAR)* XXXIV (March April 1974)

2 The organization has as one of its objectives stimulating and assisting in the application of behavioural science concepts through training in state and local agencies

3 *Organization Development Its Nature Origin and Prospects* (Reading Mass Addison-Wesley Publishing Company 1969) p 10

4 *Ibid* p 11

5 Behavioural science may be and is often applied in different value contexts and change and effectiveness are sought in flexible pragmatic ways Whether such applications properly may be incorporated under the term organization development is the subject of debate among scholars

Any number of volumes deal with the application of behavioural science in the organizational context One of the best introductions is the concise and readable set of books published by Addison Wesley In addition to the Bennis volume cited above they include Richard Beckhard *Organization Development Strategies and Models* Robert R. Blake and Jane Srygley Mouton *Building a Dynamic Corporation through Grid Organization Development* Paul R Lawrence and Jay W Lorsch, *Building Organizations Diagnosis and Action* Edgar H Schein *Process Consultation Its Role in Organization Development* and Richard E Walton *Interpersonal Peacemaking Confrontations and Third Party Consultation* In each case the place is Lexington Mass and publication date is 1969

6 See William B Eddy "Beyond Behavioralism ? Organization Development in Public Management," *Public Personnel Review* XXXI (July 1970) 169 William B Eddy and Robert J Saunders "Applied Behavioral Science in Urban Administrative/Political Systems" *PAR* XXXII (January/February 1972) 11 Robert T Golembiewski "The Laboratory Approach to Organization Change" *PAR* XXVII (September 1967) 211 and "Organization Development in Public Agencies Perspective on Theory and Practice" *PAR* XXIX (July/Aug. 1969) 367 and Sherman M Wyman *Training for Organization Development* (Washington D C Management Information Service International City Management Association 1970)

7 For earlier attempts to introduce automated data processing in local governments see Kenneth L Kraemer 'The Evolution of Information Systems for Urban Administration *PAR* XXXI (September/October 1971) 543-550 While this paper was written the International City Management Association published the *Directory of Data Processing in Small Local Government by* O Martin Anochie and Harlan J Smolin (Washington D C 1968) The Directory includes the accounts of different applications and the addresses of the persons in charge in each case

8 This portion of the proposal originated with the university and that unit was sub sequently responsible for carrying out orientation and training activities

9 Another major portion of the programme aimed at increasing the technical competency of city employees through the use of standard instructional resources

10 For a brief elaboration on the importance of the manager s commitment to intro duction of change and the need to assure—as a precondition—that the manager is aware of it meant (e g willingness to change his own ways) see Arie Halachmi Let the Workers Tell What Summer Should Be Changed " *Majalah Administrazi Negara* XVII (Summer 1978) 57 63

11 An effort was made to continue without outside assistance The results indicate the importance of consultants in maintaining momentum

12 These generalizations are based upon questionnaires completed by the participants after each session and the observations of the consultants

13 The propositions are derived from the literature cited in note 6 above and on the author s forthcoming paper on training policies in local government

14 The original design had incorporated council members into training activities This training did not materialize because the councilmen failed to agree on a schedule for it

15 One commentator has suggested that the intangible nature of public agency goals as compared with the nature of goals in the private sector may be an impediment to organization development programmes Perhaps so But people in this particular organization seemed not to lack performance objectives which served as a basis for evaluation and consequently as a source for the identification of operating problems Thus there was no lack of specifics so far as the city was concerned See Timothy W Costello The Change Process in Municipal Government in F Gerald Brown and Thomas P Murphy *Emerging Patterns in Urban Adminis tration* (Lexington Mass D C Heath and Col 1970) p 16

16 Early in the series the training group was cautioned about moving quickly into the midst of particular organization and project related problems The major reasons were uncertainty as to how the participants would react resistance to

relevancy coming from the technical consultants and its own inexperience This tendency became less pronounced over time

17 Not only was there a long term contractual relationship which tied the city to particular consultants the consortium arrangement generally dispersed authority to govern project related activities and made negotiations about the nature and course of the OD programme quite difficult

18 See Schein *Process Consultation* pp 118 19

19 These questions are pertinent for the private sector as well

20 See for example the Eddy and Saunders statement that Those [including behavioral scientists] who think they know a better way to view the conduct may have to press for changes " Applied Behavioural Science " 16 And see Jimmy Torczyner 'The Political Context of Social Change A Case Study of Innovation in Adversity in Jerusalem *The Journal of Applied Behavorial Science* VIII (May June 1972) 287

P C Mathur

Rural Re-modelling in a Liberal-Industrial State

Political Science Perspectives on the Emergent Patterns of Middle Class-Middle Castes Relations in India An Expository Note

Indian attempt to launch upon massive industrial capital formation in an adult franchise polity with a rural majority electorate is near unique in world history Liberalism implies above all maximum political liberty to conduct economic transactions in a context of market rationality on account of the urgency to industrialize and on account of the necessity to be self reliant in the realm of public sector development Indian political leaders have already been able to make the Indian people accept substantial cuts and curtailments in political freedoms and civil liberties specially since 1957 when a systematic attempt was made to substantially substitute market rationality by plan rationality in the form of the Mahalanobis model of economic planning but the recent emergence of powerful middle caste lobbies like the BKD BLD and the Lok Dal has brought out another contradiction between Liberalism and Industrialism (i e a commitment to invest present resources in long gestation manufacturing sector whose outputs are not directly consumable) in the Indian context where franchise power is concentrated in the hands of the people whose economic priorities do not necessarily coincide with the plan rationality entrenched in the planning models which the existing upholders of liberalism viz the small but substantially influential middle class of India has already endorsed for the sake of building the industrial economy of the country

CHALLENGE TO THE ESTABLISHED VALUES

Over a period of several decades the Indian Middle Class has developed a powerful vested interest in rapid industrialization and for the sake of maintaining the tempo of capital formation in this sector it has even enthusiastically supported the emerging dominance of the public sector in this realm even

though the concept of 'Big Government' is anathema in the classical vocabulary of liberalism The political ambivalence of the middle class with regard to the incompatibility between classical liberalism and con textual imperatives of self reliant industrialization in India has already been vividly seen in the 'swings registered by the metropolitan electorate of Delhi and New Delhi but the emergence of the middle castes as a political force would certainly add to the political dilemmas of the middle class which would now be called upon not only to reconcile liberal values with industrial imperatives but also to balance the emerging demands for 'rural development *vis-a vis* the plan priorities of industrial capital formation to be sure The emergence of rural lobbies would also pose a challenge to the industrial bourgeoise of India but to put it bluntly their commitment to liberalism is certainly not so strong as the middle class preference for non interference by the State in their daily lives and hence their solutions of the Liberal Industrial Rural trilemma are likely to be rather different from the middle class desire to combine public sector industrialization with political democracy even if the logic of the adult franchise gives a distinct rural tilt to the Indian political system

AGGREGATING RURAL DEMANDS WITH INDUSTRIAL IMPERATIVES

During the coming years the Indian middle class would therefore be urgently called upon to aggregate rural demands with industrial imperatives in a political context in which they are numerically out matched by the vote banks which the middle castes are likely to command It is, of course quite conceivable that in due course of time the so-called vote banks in rural India may dissolve under the impact of modernization but is it not equally obvious that no other class except the middle class is likely to be in the vanguard of the process of re modelling the traditional rural commu nities of India ? Whatever be its socio-cultural imperfections (the sight of a nuclear scientist consulting an astrologer is still quite frequent in India even in the most prestigious research institutions located in the most modern zed metropolitan centre) the Indian middle class can certainly claim a good *record in inculcation and spread of the* modern scientific values of merit ba ed individual achievement which lies at the root of the contemporary concept of adult franchise democracy and which in the West led to the emergence of the *laissez faire* school of econom c thought As already mentioned the Indian middle class has already performed the herculean task of splitting the political correlates from the economic postulates of Liberal individualism and have already endorsed the Nehruian

Socialism which attempts to combine individualistic adult franchise democracy with collectivistic public sector development, but the question now arises is whether it would be able to further propagate the economic imperatives of industrial development among the rural masses whom the middle castes are likely to mobilize in an assault against the economic rationality of massive industrialization in a rural majority democracy

THE RURAL-AGRARIAN BASE OF POWER

Given the earthscape which has evolved over a period of several hundred thousand years the process of economic development involves the manufacturing of an industrial sector out of the existing resources Taking a physiocratic view of this process of creation of a "value added sector of economy, 'land is the major productive source and agriculture is the major mode of exploitation of this resource It is a matter of intellectual record that such physiocratic doctrines of economic thinking governed the minds of men in Western Europe as well as North America even after their economies had undergone a fairly long period of sustained industrialization and it therefore should not come as a surprise if such economic doctrines begin to flourish in a country like India where agriculture has become a way of life for crores of people over several centuries The physiocratic resistance to industrialization was overcome in the West thanks mainly to existence of political regimes in which power was already concentrated in non rural centres but it would certainly be much more difficult for franchise isocracies like India to deal with agriculture first lobbies given the fact that the majority of the uncrowned sovereigns reside in rural settlements

Historically speaking extraction of an economic surplus from the rural areas is not a new process either in the West or in the Third World but the political scientists would do well to realize that the pattern of politico economic relations between agriculture and industry which facilitated the Western (including Soviet) industrial resolution may not be fully replicable in the case of India where the extension of adult franchise preceded the introduction of economic planning for industrial development In the West the traditional agrarian economic systems had been considerably re modelled before the liberal ideas of political democracy became dominant but in the case of India the middle class imbued with Liberalism enthusiastically institutionalized a political system which places a premium on the rural voters who may have their own ideas about the nature and scope of rural re modelling

INDIAN INDUSTRIAL BOURGEOISE AND PLAN RATIONALITY

When India acquired Independence from the British Raj it was certainly not a purely agricultural country but its industrial sector was still in a stage of infancy except, perhaps in such selected spheres as cotton textiles and cement and the Industrial Bourgeoise of India were hardly in a position to undertake the heavy investments required for development of capital intensive industries like steel plants and various types of machine making machines and other producers goods like heavy electricals and machine tools etc This was the main reason for the advocacy of government sponsored industrial development as embodied in the famous Bombay (or Tata Birla) Plan of 1946 by the Indian Industrial Bourgeoise which soon came to be fructified in the shape of the high priority attached towards industrial development in the various Industrial Policy Resolutions and the Second Five Year Plan of the Government of India

On a superficial plane there appears to be a contradiction between the economic objectives of the Industrial Bourgeoise and Nehru s commit ment to Socialist economic doctrines but in so far as the Plan rationality of the Nehru Government resulted in mobilization of internal resources for long term investment such public sector industrialization was enthusiastically welcomed by the Indian industrialists who were fully aware of their limitations in ensuring such massive investments To be sure a section of Indian Bourgeoise in India has always been critical of the Nehruian indus trial policies but such critici m has emanated mostly from the commercial rather than industrial sections of Indian Bourgeoise and what is more important the criticism has been focu sed mainly on the implementational irritants rather than the basic idea of the Union and State governments launching upon gigantic industrial enterprises

THE MIDDLE CLASS SUPPORT TO HEAVY INDUSTRIALIZATION

The challenge to the eemingly Socialist idea of public sector industrializa tion emanated in India first from the middle class which found the economic implications of long term investment viz inflation imposition of strict controls over imports and scarcity of consumer goods in the immediate time frame rather burdensome, but the middle class soon discovered the plus side of State capitalism viz enhanced employment opportunities and phenomenal increments in the incomes generated by the tertiary sector which was left entirely in the private hands although it provided a series

of essential goods and services to the large scale industrial enterprises In fact, as the public investments in industrial enterprises began to mount the middle class in India began to register vertical as well as horizontal growth on a scale which no engineer, architect accountant or industrial manager would have dreamt of before the advent of the Mahalnobis model of high priority to heavy industries Hence even as the middle class fumed and fretted at the erosion of their real incomes on account of the steady inflation during the late fifties and sixties it learnt to accommodate itself to the dynamic balance of the pluses and minuses of self reliant industrialization in which almost all the resources for long term investment had to be generated internally

OPPOSITION FROM THE MIDDLE CASTES

The mid sixties however witnessed the emergence of yet another challenger to the Mahalnobis model of capital intensive industrialization viz, the middle castes which had been traditionally engaged in agricultural activities in rural India The anti industrial campaign of the middle castes is of course still in an embroynic stage and the recent failure of Choudhary Charan Singh s Lok Dal to secure a mandate outside U P Bihar Haryana and Rajasthan has certainly caused a great set back to it but in the very logic of economic ecology the middle caste opposition to large scale diversion of investments to the heavy industries sector is bound to gather an increasing momentum in the coming years Political scientists would, therefore, be well advised to sensitize themselves towards the emerging tensions as the middle castes forge greater political solidarity and begin to deploy their superior franchise power to re modelling the existing economic policies depriving thereby the other sections of society the long term benefits of large scale industrialization

GROWING AGRARIAN INDUSTRIAL BALANCE

Unlike the developing economies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Indian economy over the last three decades or so has registered a fairly impressive amount of industrial capital accumulation without, however, experiencing a corresponding fall in the percentage of population engaged in agriculture Economic analysis of all shades are moreover in agreement over the trend prediction that the percentage of the rural population (i e people directly as well as indirectly dependent upon agriculture defined broadly to include horticulture dairying acqaculture as well as farm and social forestry etc) the total Indian population is not likely to show an

appreciable decline in the next three decades although by the dawn of the twenty first century India s industrial sector would have acquired an unmistakable economic dominance

In terms of a rough estimate, the percentage share of agriculture in India s Gross Domestic Product was 60 on the eve of Independence 56 in 1950 51 and 42 in 1973 74 but this substantial fall in the economic contri bution of the agriculture to the total economy has not resulted in appreciable decline even in the percentage-share of rural population to India s total population let alone the question of a fall in the absolute number of rural population which has been steadily rising since 1947 According to one expert estimate the total rural population in 1971 in India was 490 00 million constituting 80 1 percent of the total Indian population the corresponding figures for 2001 A D being 667 1 million and 70 6 percent

The persistence of a large rural population inspite of sustained decline in the percentage share of agriculture in the GDP is from all accounts an unprecedented phenomenon in world economic history and totally contro-verts the Western experience of industrial accumulation being accompanied by a sustained fall in the population engaged in the primary sector i e rural population Political scientists analysing government and politics in India would have therefore to take note of the phenomena of retention of franchise power by the rural population even though agriculture may have receded into the economic background

THE STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TERTIARY SECTOR

Economists familiar with the standard statistics of the growth of the econdary sector might be a little puzzled at the political thrust of the foregoing argument because the percentage share of industries etc in the Indian GDP has gone up from 12 6 in 1950 51 to only 17 2 in 1973 74 (at 1960-61 prices) and in fact the bulk of India s rapidly growing industrialization was achieved during 1950 51 to 1965 66 and the percentage share reached its highest (viz , 18) in 1965 66 with a stagnation thereafter A political scientist interested in political implications of industrial development would however be far more interested in the percentage share of the tertiary sector whose percentage share has gone up from 23 00 to 29 3 and, what is more important this sector (including electricity construction transport and other services) has contributed nearly 50 percent of the incremental NDP during 1950-51 to 1973 74 While the tertiary sector may be conceptually

differentiated from the secondary sector for purposes of economic analysis no political scientist can afford to overlook the significance of the fact that since 1950 51 the greatest amount of expansion in economic activities has been registered in such realms as construction, transport and other services because in all these sub sectors constitute the *locus classicus* of the middle class

THE INCREASING STRESS ON EMPLOYMENT GENERATION

The design of the Indian economic development has in other words admirably suited the Indian middle class the emphasis on heavy industries placed a premium on expansion of higher education in the field of science and technology and the growth of *transport, construction and other such* sub sectors provided ample opportunities for earning high incomes without necessarily making substantial business investments In fact the political discontent of the Indian middle class against the economic policies of the Union and State governments began to mount only after 1965 66 when the phenomenon of educated unemployment made its initial appearance in the wake of a slow down on industrial front, the number of job seekers on the Live Register of Employment Exchanges jumped from 2 6 million in December 1966 to 8 8 million a more than three fold rise in June 1975 *what was more alarming to the middle class was that the proportion of the* educated job seekers to the total on Live Register increased from 35 percent to 50 percent during this period The consequent middle class clamour for greater employment opportunities and demands for reorientation of the plan models to maximize employment and without merely concentrating on investment maximization found a response in the Sixth Plan (based upon sophisticated economic analysis of the employment dimensions which were undertaken only after the political overtones of the middle class discontent on this score became loud enough) but even as the middle class was learning to live with unemployment the emergence of militant middle castes demanding job reservations in the public sector has posed new political complications for the Indian planners

GREEN REVOLUTION AND ITS POLITICAL RAMIFICATIONS

The Indian policy elite have been conscious of the politico economic importance of agriculture right from the First Plan and have been experi menting with a series of policies and strategies of rural development The priority attached to heavy industries in other words has not meant a total neglect of agricultural development and in fact India has chalked up

a very impressive rate of agricultural growth despite the fact that the total cropped area has remained, more or less stationary since the mid fifties Impressive growth in agricultural production has in other words been registered on account of inputs like irrigation nutrients pesticides and tractors which could not have been made available on such a large scale without steady growth in the secondary and tertiary sectors of the Indian economy

Political scientists analyzing modern India s experience of walking on two legs cannot however fail to take note of the curious economic fact that Indian agriculture began to register spectacular upsurge just at the time when Indian industrial development reached a low ebb viz the triennuim 1964 66 and the onset of green revolution in India s wheat belt coincided with the emergence of political instability in precisely those areas where rural life had begun to be transformed on account of transformation of agriculture from an exercise in self subsistence to an economic enterprise involving trans local exchange of inputs and outputs It goes to the credit of the Asoka Mehta Committee on Panchayati Raj Institutions (1978) that it could explicitly identify this dynamics of development and urge substantial devolution of decision making authority upon elective grass-roots institutions on the functional premise that people want power for development but the question that political analysts would have to probe in greater depth during the coming decades is as to whether the development seeking middle castes would be satisfied with Panchayati Raj scale of devolution or would like to press for a greater share in political power at more strategic levels

THE INCREASING POLITICAL POWER OF MIDDLE CASTES

The rapidly unfolding economic possibilities of agricultural growth have in fact hardly drawn the attention of political scientists although given the franchise structure of democratic India the potential of Rural Power is obvious enough A mall band of leftist economists like A Rudra P C Joshi U Patnaik A Bhadhuri G Parthasarthy and C H Hanumantha Rao and a handful of social anthropologists and ociologists like A. Beiteille T K. Oommen K.C Alexendar and A R Desai have certainly tried to study the pattern of emerging agrarian tensions in India but the more macro structural phenomena of the emergence of middle castes as a political heavy weight has hardly attracted the attention of academic scholars so far the political scientists who should have been in forefront of studies pertaining to political

potential of rural votes in a middle class dominated polity have purely begun to scratch the surface of power structure in rural India while the daily newspapers are headlining the 'power drive of the middle castes in States like Haryana Bihar U P Gujarat Rajasthan Andhra Pradesh and above all Maharashtra

In the traditional *Varna* sy tem of ancient India the ritual status of agriculture was rather vague and till recently the vast majority of Indian agriculturists who cultivated their own or based in land were politically and economically no match for the 'twice born high castes and even their ritual status remained indeterminate while a number of ritually low ranking caste groups could move up the politico economic ladder in Mughal as well as British rule and became members of urban dwelling professionally educated middle class which not only acquired a high economic status but also began to wield considerable political influence on account of their virtual monopoly in the secular rituals of state craft, viz legislation, judicial administration and executive enforcement of public policies

The adoption of a political system powered by universal adult franchise and implementation of a large number of developmental programmes for agricultural growth has in fact changed the 'strategic balance in India away from the middle class and in favour of the middle castes which are now increasingly demanding a greater 'voice in the political as well as administrative decision making forums Hence, even though Charan Singh s plans for forging Kisan solidarity on an all India basis have not succeeded so far attempts at political consolidation of the middle castes are now bound to become a major feature of the Indian polity While the centuries-old existence of the middle castes as social under privileges of indeterminate ritual status would provide a ready made base for political solidification their emerging requirements for techno economic inputs would provide a credible focus for economic association The process of political mobiliza tion of the middle castes has in fact already begun and their growing economic realization that the techno economic inputs required for rural development would be made available only as a result of political lobbying is likely to bring the middle castes into polit cal confrontation not only with the middle class but also the Industrial Bourgeoise as well as the backward classes (i e Scheduled Tribes plus Scheduled Castes plus the remaining categories of rural poor and urban poor groups)

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE

THE POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY OF MIDDLE CLASS

As a self proclaimed champion of Liberalism heavy political responsibility therefore, rests upon the middle class in India viz, to carry out the political socialization of the middle castes both in the political values of Liberalism and economic values of Industrialism Impatient with the blocking of huge funds for long term investment in heavy industries and being impelled by their ready made franchise power the middle castes are likely to play in the years to come a destabilizing role as far as the existing consensus on politico economic models is concerned The emergence of the politico-economic power of middle castes is, in fact likely to upset the Liberal industrial model much more than the ascendency of any other section or class because after all the existing Constitution already contains many palliatives as far as the Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and other Backward Classes are concerned while also meeting the politico economic requirements of the Industrial Bourgeoise as well as the middle class True the 1950 constitution also partially satisfies the agricultural interests of the middle castes by making agriculture a State subject and exempting agricultural income from Income Tax but the increasing centralization of politico-economic decision making makes such provisions rather ineffective as far as control over developmental policies are concerned the middle castes would like to exercise effective command over the econo-administrative heights of the Indian polity like the Planning Commission Reserve Bank of India Ministries of Finance Commerce and Agriculture and All India Services like the I A S which are today exclusively manned by the middle class even though they may not be operating in exclusive middle class interests Given the existing educational and professional requirements for entry into public sector administrative managerial cadres the only immediately feasible way for the middle castes to acquire control over the decision making apparatus is to gain entry into the legislatures where their franchise power would out weigh the middle class expertise in liberal education and professional training It is therefore also likely that the middle castes may begin to indulge in a form of scape-goating by blaming the middle class for gaps and lags in immediate redressal of their economic grievances little realizing that the models and norms of resource allocation cast in firm moulds over a long period cannot be restructured overnight Finally lacking sophisticated understanding of politico-economic processes the middle castes might turn hostile towards the middle class without realizing that it the whole is in no position to carry out a drastic re prioritization

of Indian economic policies (even if it were ready to do so, a contingency which is highly unlikely) in favour of the emergent middle castes at the expense of on going programmes of public sector industrialization

The Indian middle class would therefore be required to play a new political role in the coming decades, viz, socialization of the emergent middle castes into the forms and norms of the on going politico economic policies The purpose of this note is just to sensitize political analysts towards the emerging role of the middle class while the actual portfolio of tactics and strategies which might be used for this purpose would be spelled out sub sequently A number of such policies and programmes like 'appropriate technology 'adult education 'vocationalization distance education etc are already being discussed at various levels but our present aim is just to present a political science perspective of what is normally regarded as techno economic approaches to rural re modelling

S C Misra

Neglect of Rural Policing

The policing needs of a country are considerably influenced by its social economic and political milieu Accordingly every country has its own distinct structure of police administration It may be hypothesized that authoritarian countries will have police organizations which will be vitally different in their structures and orientations from those found in democratic countries No two democratic countries even will have identical police systems

The kind of police that a country has will depend substantially upon the concept that each country has of what its police ought to be Further this conception is influenced by a variety of considerations like the size of the country, its historical past character of the population and above all the psychological framework of the people Ironically India does not seem to have been able to decide yet as to what kind of police she really wants The country, even after more than three decades of independence is still hanging on to the colonial set up of police bequeathed by the British although time and again it has been highlighted that the system is unsuitable to the country s present needs and people s aspirations

INSECURITY OF THE RURAL MASSES

India has been a predominantly agricultural society from the earliest times and even today nearly eighty percent of its population lives in villages This large chunk of country s population has remained socially backward and economically neglected Notably our politico administrative system continues to be elitist in character it caters essentially to the needs of the small urban population Some schemes have no doubt, been launched after independence for the socio-economic upliftment of the rual masses, and notable achievements have also been made in certain spheres the fact remains, however that the rural people by and large are still ignorant insecure and openly

exploited by traditional vested interests They do not know where to go for succour and protection for hardly anything like a benign police or an efficient judicial system exists to protect their lives and property

The last two decades have witnessed a continuous exodus of rural population to the cities Some of it is no doubt an upshot of industrialization and expanding job-opportunities in urban centres However, this trend has made cities overcrowded and unmanageable Consequently there is some thinking in favour of reversing this trend by providing adequate employment opportunities at the rural centres themselves This is sought to be achieved by setting up cottage and small scale industries in the rural areas and also by checking the growth of big industries near the cities Despite a limited success achieved in this realm, this change of priorities has raised new hopes for the rural population

Any infrastructure to be provided to develop rural centres economically must take into account the policing needs of these areas Without a provision of adequate guarantee of security and protection to the entrepreneurs and the weaker sections the development programmes in the countryside are not likely to have smooth functioning The mistake of not providing for police coverage at the planning stage of new ventures has been repeated again and again with disastrous consequences The industrial complexes of Ranchi Bhilai and Rourkela are glaring examples of such poor planning Serious disturbances that took place there could not be checked because adequate police provision had not been made initially We tend to forget that any disruption in the existing socio economic balance of the population in an area is bound to cause tensions which in turn are likely to generate law and order problems Keeping this factor in view the police system in rural areas has to be planned and organized on a more rational basis

MULTIFUNCTIONALITY OF RURAL POLICE

The Encyclopaedia Britannica which emphasises that every country needs a police to suit her individual requirements while making a special reference to India mentions ' If the society is agricultural, as in rural India the police will be concerned with the state of crops, irrigation of fields the condition of roads and paths, private feuds and quarrels the registration of births and deaths feasts fairs and all matters of private and public events '[1] The concept envisages total involvement of the police in practically all social activities performed at the village level This comprehensive approach of police functioning may

not be applicable to urban centres The village life is corporate and not individualistic as is the case in cities and therefore it requires the cooperation and involvement of one and all including the police in the implementation of its developmental as well as non developmental programmes Accordingly the police must ensure that village life functions smoothly, that agricultural activity is carried on unhampered, that the people are protected from the ravages of anti social elements that the poor and the weak are not exploited by the rich and the influential and that all matters pertaining to the main tenance of peace and tranquillity in rural areas are effectively dealt with This positive and aggressive approach of the police system would seem to be against the prevailing thinking in India that police should not interfere in social life except when an offence under the law has actually been committed and a report thereof has been lodged with the police Involvement of the police in the normal activity of the community is regarded as intrusion in the privacy of the people

The argument that administrative functionaries should adopt a policy of *laisse-faire* is a legacy of the past and overlooks the contemporary reality Further, it goes counter to the concept of welfare state in which all governmental functionaries are expected to play a positive role in facilitating maximum good of all sections of society It has also to be borne in mind that in a caste ridden and hierarchical rural society such as India s a sizeable section of the weaker castes has traditionally lived a life of perpetual subservience to the land-owning higher castes having vested interest in perpetuating the *status quo* The influential group of higher caste and rich persons has always preferred least interference by the government in village life All the programmes for the upliftment of weaker sections of the society go awry at the implementation stage because of the mechanisations of these very vested interests It is they who control the politicians the election machine and eventually the bureaucracy They would go to any length to thwart attempts to weaken their hold over the village population Their efforts coupled with inadequate police administration have rendered meaningless all statutes designed to uplift the weaker sections such as the Civil Rights and Removal of Untouchability Acts

THE GROWING RURAL TENSIONS

Visible changes are taking place in the thought process life styles political awareness and expectations of the rural people These are reflected in their social attitudes and in their orientation towards general administration as a whole One notices a marked increase in social tensions of various types

disturbing the age-old peace and tranquillity of village life The opening up of the countryside through a net work of new roads, spread of education and electronic media has pushed the rural folk closer to the urban centres This trend has been further supported by the efforts made by the rural people for improving their economic conditions and living standards Those who have been traditionallv down trodden are striving to attain their lawful place in society These change processes naturally create conditions of discord and conflict between the haves and 'have nots The import of urban materialistic culture to the countryside has also acclerated the crime rate, and the existing law and order machinery is proving hopelessly inadequate to meet the growing exigencies

It may not be very wrong to suggest that lack of police protection and the resultant increasing insecurity in rural areas have led to—atleast to some extent—the migration of people from the villages to the cities It is certainly a painful decision for peple to uproot themselves from their hearths and homes with which thay have developed emotionl attachments and which have provided them with material security Rural people are often forced to migrate becau e of lack of police or other protection from anti social elements who have the backing of the vested interests

LIMITED OBJECTIVES OF THE COLONIAL RULERS

The interest of the British rulers in the policing of the country was confined to two main objectives viz keeping the people of the land under subjugation and spending minimum on the operation of administrative apparatus Any reforms mooted for the police system during the British rule were constrained by the official over concern for economy The rulers priority lay not so much in providing proper police coverage to the vast village population to safeguard its interests and property against the schem ing of greedy and influential village bullies as in supporting these very vested interests This was done by the rulers for the perpetuation of their own government system based on injustice and exploitation As is well known, the main plank of support to the British administration in India was the unflinching loyalty of the land owning classes of zamindars and the elitist upper middle class who had a stake in the countryside These groups were exploiting the large masses of the poor people with the connivance and protection of the alien rulers Accordingly they manipulated the rural people in such a manner that they could not raise their heads in defiance of the administration Resultantly, these exploiting groups were rewarded for their services by the government through grant

of various powers to further increase their influence and hold over the villages and thus different magisterial revenue and police powers were granted to these groups

THE MANIPULATIVE RURAL ELITE

It is interesting to note that during the major part of eighteenth century, the indigenous police system in the rural India was democratic in structure It rested on the principle of village responsibility like that of Saxon England by which the village community selected its own headman and appointed a local resident as the police functionary who was called by various designations in different parts of the country This arrangement was democratic in so far as it worked through consensus This system of a community police gradually became ineffective with the rise in the influence of the zamindars and other elite classes The village headman and the police functionaries in course of time became stooges of the zamindars who manipulated every village institution whether revenue or police to their own advantage In north Indian States the situation reached a point when the zamindars were made the village police functionaries

This scheme of rural policing not only destroyed an age old democratic principle but also proved troublesome to the British rulers They found to their dismay that instead of protecting the inhabitants of their estates the landlords had grossly misused and abused the authority entrusted to them The following extract from the report of the Indian Police Commission 1902-03 is significant

> They [Zamindars] extorted and amassed wealth which was dessipated in a jealous revelry of magnificent pageantry The weapons which were intended for the enemies only of the State were turned against the State itself, and against each other, and were used for plans of personal aggrandisement, mutual revenge or public plunder It was sometimes with difficulty that the regular or standing army of the State could restrain the insolvance or subdue the insubordination of these intestine rebels and robbers[2]

THE FAILURE OF THE DAROGA SYSTEM

At the end of the eighteenth century in order to correct this state of affairs the control of zamindars over the village police was abolished and a superimposition of a magisterially controlled so called regular police was introduced This provided for a staff of Darogas (present day Sub-Inspectors of

Police) with subordinate officers and a body of peons (akin to present day constables) The charge of a Daroga was an average of 20 miles in every direction All the watchmen of the village police establishment were subject to his orders Even this reorganization attempt proved a failure In this context the Indian Police Commission, 1902 03 made the following observations

> There was a marked increase of crime everywhere robberies and murders, accompanied by the most atrocious and deliberate cruelties were of frequent occurrence gangs of dacoits roamed unchecked about the country and, in the expressive native phrase, 'the people did not sleep in tranquillity The causes were not difficult of discovery The police establishments were inadequate for the prevention of crime [3]

Earlier, the Court of Directors of the East India Company in an order issued in 1814 on the subject, condemned the creation of the posts of Darogas and their subordinates in unequivocal terms and significantly observed that the ' preservation of social order and tranquillity never can be effected by the feeble operations of a few Darogas and peons stationed through an extensive country wanting in local influence and connection with the people insufficiently remunerated to induce respectable men to accept the office placed beyond the sight and control of the magistrate and surrounded with various temptations to betray their trust [4]

Despite a very clear appreciation of the utter futility of such a police establishment the British rulers did nothing to change it by a better system In their own country they had a popular and effective system of parish constables in each community but for India apathy and pretentions of economy always stood in the way of introducing an effective policing system for the rural folk who spent their lives in isolation poverty and privation Instead the rural areas were policed by strong arm methods through remote ly placed corrupt officers of petty status but with vast powers who were both distru ted and feared by the people The constables working under Darogas were themselves suspect in the eyes of the administration as would be apparent from these extracts of the report of the Indian Police Commission 1902 03 ' But the corruption of the constable is more intolerable because of the greater opportunites of oppression and extortion which his police powers afford, because of the intimate connection he has with the general life of

town and country, and because of the possibility of his being brought any time into special relations with the individual

THE END OF THE BEAT SYSTEM

The Commission's report vehemently criticised the so-called 'beat system', and as a result constables were prohibited from being given a "roving commission to make periodical visits to certain areas without being controlled by any definite instruction Rules were modified to guard against constable's visits to villages turning into opportunities for oppression Instructions to this effect were codified in Police Manuals and whatever little police coverage the beat system provided was also discouraged

The net outcome of the Commission's recommendations was that nearly 80 percent of the country's population living in the villages was left at the mercy of the village headmen and their henchmen even though the Commission itself had found these groups to be in league with criminals and bad characters Now the police coverage for villages rested with an unscrupulous and corrupt lot of policemen operating from remote police stations and having wide unchecked powers whose visitations provided no succour to the local people Anyone happening to get involved in a matter calling for police intervention had to trek long distances and waste their precious time in paying obeisance to the high and mighty Station House Officer With one or two Sub Inspectors and a dozen constables required to control a large and populous area under a police station and extremely poor means of communication the S H O could not provide the required service or protection to the village people

POST INDEPENDENCE MEASURES

After independence some expansion has taken place in the number of police stations and the strengths of policemen but the improvement recorded has been only marginal and inadequate Many Indian States have set up police commissions for examining the adequacy and efficacy of the police set up but even these have not been able to recommend anything remarkable to introduce basic changes in the village police system Their recommendations have not gone beyond tinkering here and there Some States such as Orissa and Assam finding the village police system completely useless have abolished it altogether Other States such as Rajasthan did not think it even worth while to introduce the village police system Otherwise also the reports emanating from other States indicate that the village police system has

lost its utility completely As a consequence, a major part of the country population has been left at the mercy of gangsters bullies and sophisticated manipulators

THE INADEQUACIES OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM

It is indeed paradoxical that n a predominantly agricultural country like India a people s government should have overlooked the policing needs of the rural people The Indian government has more or le s *continued with the colonial* policy of *village* communities No wonder that even in free India, the weaker sections of the society feel neglected harassed and exploited at the hands of the powerful rural elite There are incessant reports of atroc ties committed on Harijans and other helpless people in the villages of gang warfare between self seeking groups of hoodlums which the police are unable to check and as a result of these recurrent episodes insecurity prevails in the rural areas Illi *cit fire arms are easily available* and are *freely used Worse still because of* the terror of the village bullies evidence for court cases against the criminals has been difficult to collect If many more incidents like Belchi in Bihar have to be avoided the governments will have to think in terms of provid ing a proper system of policing of such far flung rural areas In the absence of a proper machinery to deal with this malady mere warnings exhortations or threats to district officers to check such cases are not expected to bring about noticeable improvement The existing police and revenue apparatus is weak and inadequate to be able to deal with the gigantic law and order problems The present set of officials is not only remotely placed but is also traditionally elitist in its approach and thus cut off from the mainstream of rural life

It is understandable that an alien government ignored *this silent* and weak majority of rural people for political or economic reasons but the apathy of a people s government in this regard is unpardonable In respect of police development the cities and towns have received increasing attention at the cost of villages We are spending collosal sums on laboratories research centres and computerization in police administration The vast increases in paramilitary police forces at the centre and in the States have only benefitted the urban areas where they are used for quelling riots and for attending to V I Ps All this is desirable but why a rural community cannot be provided even with a constable to give its people a sense of security ?

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE

It is significant that a foreign expert, Dr David Bayley, noticed this anomalous situation when he observed

> Rural India is spottily and inefficiently policed The impunity with which dacoits and highway robbers operate is a plain indication of this fact The criminal situation would not appear to be as bad in the rural areas as in the cities, but until crime reporting has been considerably improved, especially in villages, one cannot be sure Villagers would seem to welcome the development of an efficient reliable trustworthy and pervasive police system To date neither the State Police nor the chowkidari system has met the need [6]

NEED FOR INNOVATIVE AND ENDOGENOUS MECHANISMS

The need to evolve a mechanism for proper policing of the rural areas has become imperative and its imminence has increased because of the growing lawlessness and insecurity in the countryside Any thought of reviving the old system on the plea that it had stood the test of time has to be abandoned once for all The system has lost its relevance and utility long ago An attempt to re energise it would tantamount to flogging a dead horse It is only innovative thinking which can offer to the rural masses a police system that would not only be effective viable and practical but also suit the genius of the people Indian conditions are in many ways peculiar and her problems unique It is therefore unlikely that a pattern borrowed from another country would suit her requirements It has also to be borne in mind that India is a poor country and cannot afford the luxury of an expensive administrative measure however desirable it may appear to be Besides rural people by nature are conservative and tradition bound They are instinctively suspicious of change A new set up to be acceptable to them must have its roots firmly in the rural community It should be something with clear and unambiguous motives Even otherwise it is universally accepted that the best police system is one which grows from the community itself in an evolutionary manner

A police system imposed from above is bound to be anathema to the rural people and looked upon with suspicion Rural people have suffered this kind of imposition for too long and it is natural for them to look askance at it On the other hand their association with the present set up of police stations and its concomitant paraphernalia has been long and they may not be averse to its expansion despite somewhat bitter experience of their working Therefore funds permitting the rural police stations should

be made smaller Their number will have to be increased with a view to bring a police station closer to the village community In addition the staff at the police stations should be increased and its mobility improved in order to better its performance Some change in the orientation and working of the policemen in general is visible and if the process continues, it may be hoped that in course of time, their public image would substantially improve and the village people will begin to trust them

VARIETY OF EXPERIMENTS

The measure suggested above can however, improve the position only marginally Lack of finance is bound to stand in the way of any substantial *increase in the number of police stations and their staff* Besides this would still leave the question of immediate policing at the village level unresolved Several experiments hitherto tried at replacing the decadent village of the past, have not proved very successful The States of Uttar Pradesh and Orissa had experimented with the posting of regular constables from police stations to the villages in the years 1955 and 1958 respectively Under the scheme each constable was required to look after a cluster of four to five villages But the scheme had to be abandoned within a couple of years in both cases Not only did the constabulary prove too costly but its reception by the people was cold and unenthusiastic Their image in the minds of the local residents was no different from that of the traditionally feared and awed policeman They could not ingratiate themselves with the people and were regarded as an unwholesome imposition by the government

The State of Assam replaced the former village police by a scheme of policing through the agency of village volunteers Each village voluntary force and a local resident incharge of it is required to carry out the functions that were formerly performed by the village chowkidar The idea is undoubtedly interesting for policing is essentially a community s own function and therefore logically, should be performed by the members of the community themselves The strongest argument in favour of this system is that it costs the exchequer very little Nevertheless as is the fate of most voluntary organizations the initial enthusiasm for this scheme has reportedly waned and it is now being sustained only through police pressure and the temptations of power In fact a voluntary organization can only be useful if it is employed occasionally and not regularly for it becomes inadequate for day to-day functioning Considered in the backdrop of burgeoning law and order problems of the countryside specially in the States of Uttar Pradesh, Haryana Punjab and West Bengal it is not possible for such a weak

organization to deliver goods in the long run What is required is a more professional properly trained and effective organization of a permanent nature It should be sufficiently capable of taking charge of a law and order situation till the arrival of the regular police from the police station and be able to deal with minor affairs on its own

ENTRUSTING POLICE FUNCTIONS TO PANCHAYATI RAJ INSTITUTIONS

It is time that the panchayati raj institutions took over the responsibility of policing the rural areas with a view to supplement the efforts of regular police Though this idea may not be acceptable in some quarters it appears to be the only rational and logical solution to the problem of rural policing India is already committed to the gradual decentralization of the administration upto the village level If educational institutions, hospitals and cottage industries and other organizations can be run effectively by panchayati raj institutions why not the police ? Police department would do well to hand over some of its functions pertaining to rural areas to the panchayati raj institutions For this purpose apprehensions about politicization of the police system through panchayati raj will have to be dispelled In fact politics at village level could be less dysfunctional than at higher levels since it would be exposed to a close scrutiny by the public If misuse of power by politicians at the top has to be curbed it is best to decentralize this power to village and district levels In a democracy politics is its integral component Even in police politics is visible and manifest but its ill effects can be diluted by decentralization

In the panchayati raj system an auxiliary police organization having a constable type of police functionary at the village level could be created The functionary should fulfil certain minimum qualifications prescribed by the government His enlistment could be subject to the approval of the District Superintendent of Police and he should undergo a basic training course of a short duration which could be organized by the police department The panchayati raj institutions could be given some supervisory staff on loan from the police to advise them and coordinate the working of village functionaries and police stations The expenditure on the organization could be borne by the panchayati raj institutions through the levy of a special tax and also from contribution from State government The levy of any tax though normally resented may not be so unwelcome when it goes to improve the security of the people On the other hand the village people may get the feeling of identity with their police if part of the cost is met by them Functions of the regular police and the proposed

auxiliary organization could be demarcated through a statute To bring about a rapport between the panchayati raj functionaries and the police, the District Superintendent of Police, other gazetted police officers and the Station House Officers should be suitably associated with the panchayati raj through co opted membership of zila parishads panchayat samities and panchayats Once the responsibility of rural policing devolves on voluntary forces, these units will have to be organized properly so that they may act as an emergency force to assist in times of communal or civil disorder in the countryside for guarding railway and telecommunication lines in emergencies and for helping the people in the event of a natural calamity The need is to take a decision to create such a force at the rural level and implement it rigorously The proposed institutional set up is likely to fill a long felt gap in the Indian police administrative system

NOTES

1 *Encyclopaedia Britannica* Vol XIV (Chicago 1978) p 662

2. *Report of the Indian Police Commission 1902-03* Chap I para 11

3 *Ibid* para 12. For a historical account of the development of police administration in India see S C Mishra *Police Administration in India* (Mt Abu National Police Academy 1970) pp 9 30

4 *Ibid* para 13

5 *Ibid* para 24

6. David H Bayley *The Police and Political Development in India* (Princeton N J Princeton University Press 1969) p 389

Daya Krishna

Some Reflections on Professor Riggs s Clarification of the Notion of Development*

Professor Fred W Riggs has attempted to clarify the notion of development in his latest comment[1] and tried to remove all possible misunderstandings regarding the notion as he understands it He defines development as "an increasing ability to make and carry out collective decisions affecting the environment [not context] ' [2] He has also distinguished his definition from others which seek to define it in terms of say ' wealth ' growth ' ' nation-building "independence ' national power ' equality democracy ' ecological concerns, recognition of the environmental implications of industrialisation etc etc [3] He quite emphatically asserts that there is no point in confusing the notion of development' with any or each or all or some of these concepts as they are different and other terms are available for them which may be used to connote what they distinctively stand for

NOTIONS OF COLLECTIVITY AND 'CONTEXT'

But his own definition makes two fundamental distinctions (i) the 'collective nature of decisions which are opposed to what he himself has called 'autocratic ' decisions, and (ii) decisions affecting the environment as opposed to those which affect the context ' In case there is an increase 'in the ability to make and carry out decisions which happen to be

---

*Almost four years have passed since *Administrative Change* published Prof Riggs s comment on my comment on his earlier paper on the same subject in the journal I was then given to understand by the Editor of the journal that he would not like to continue the controversy any further However now that the journal appears to have reversed the policy and requested my reaction to his reply I am giving it for whatever it is worth In the meanwhile my book *Political Development A Critical Perspective* (Delhi Oxford University Press 1979) was published wherein I had discussed some of the points made by Professor Riggs (See pp 201-5) Interested readers may see it also

'autocratic and not collective in character, it will not count as 'development, according to his definition Similarly if there is an increase in the ability to make and carry out decisions which affect the 'context rather than the "environment' it could not be considered as 'development' according to the definition

The distinction between 'autocratic and 'collective' decisions on the one hand, and the distinction between decisions that affect the environ ment and those that affect the context, on the other are crucial distinctions in Riggs s definition of 'development Both the distinctions are *prima facie* valuational in nature He himself has admitted that

> without specifying any particular institutional framework, therefore, my definition nevertheless *implies* some increase in the *equity* of power holding and utilization some *growth in social justice* Moreover since the definition refers to carrying out decisions it also implies improved administrative capabilities [4]

INESCAPABILITY OF THE SYNDROME OF GROWTH

It is strange to find that though only a few paragraphs earlier he had tried to deny any connection of the notion of 'development' with concepts such as those of equality democracy and 'recognition of environmental implications of industrialisation he finds nothing odd in explicitly confessing that his own definition implies 'some degree of popular participation and some growth in social justice It may be noted, in parantheses that Riggs has used the word growth" here though he himself had stated a few paragraphs earlier that for reasons which I shall explain below I cannot equate development with wealth nor even with growth [5] Possibly he might say that he was referring there only to 'economic growth and not to growth of social justice But obviously he was making an attempt to formulate a definition of development which would not use any notion for which alternative terms were available That he has not been able to keep his resolve even for a few paragraphs in the same article where he set about to argue this shows the impossibility of the exercise he has tried to undertake

What Riggs wants to do is

> to use the word development for a kind of change that can be clearly identified but which one may approve or disapprove of for various

reasons—it may combine beneficial with harmful consequences and it may affect some more favourably than others

This however, can only be done if his definition were reformulated so as to read that development is an increasing ability to make and carry out decisions" The qualification of decisions by the term 'collective' and their restriction to those which affect only the "environment and not the context," is not only superfluous but also misleading as it brings those very factors into the definition which he wants to avoid

RESPONSIBLE AND IRRESPONSIBLE DEVELOPMENT

In fact Prof Riggs has not only introduced the concept of 'collective decision making into his definition but also attempted to distinguish between the types of effects which they have on the 'environment leading to his notion of responsible and 'irresponsible' development He explains the distinction in the following way

> Not to consider the long run consequences of the impact on one s environment of the decisions taken by a society is to manifest *irresponsible* development to adapt one s policies affecting environ mental transformations to the long term requirements of survival is to engage in *responsible* development '

When he immediately adds 'clearly responsible development is *preferable* to irresponsible development 8 it is not quite clear whether the preference expressed is that of Professor Riggs alone or is claimed to be objective in the sense that it not only *ought* to be preferred by others but also appear as *preferable* to all concerned In case it is the latter it would appear that he has started *prescribing* what development *ought* to be In fact what should be properly called development is development which is 'responsible' "Irresponsible development can only be called development by courtesy In fact once the distinction between responsible and irresponsible development is made it should form an integral part of the definition itself However the definition would then have to be modified to read as an increasing ability to make and carry out collective decisions affecting the environment positively, taking into account the long term *effects on the* environment (*not context*) The fact that he has not included the notion of responsibility in his definition and introduced it externally shows that he has not given sufficient thought to the effect which his distinction between responsible' development would make to the definition itself

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE DEVELOPMENT

The situation in fact, is the same with regard to the other crucial distinction which he has also introduced viz the distinction between "positive and 'negative development It may be recalled in this connection that he has explicitly and self consciously excluded from the definition of development any reference to what he has chosen to call 'context as opposed to environment

It is surprising therefore, to find him introducing the notion of 'negative development in regard to the effects of decisions on context itself And though Riggs has primarily talked of 'negative development in his article it is clear that its opposite would have to be regarded as 'positive development Negative development occurs according to him when a developing country choose(s) to enhance its military capabilities and use them to subject and exploit others [9] Not only this if a ruling group use(s) growing capacity to manipulate its environment to dominate and exploit its own subject populations, [10] it should also be regarded as negative development as he observes that when a country uses its growing capacity in this way it manifests negative', not 'positive development. [11]

The distinction between "negative' and 'positive development therefore consists in the way the growing capacity is used by the rulers with respect to other groups whether external or internal It seems therefore surprising that Riggs should have excluded all effects of decision making on the 'context from his definition of development and yet have drawn a distinction between positive and "negative development For just as the effects of decisions on the environment can be divided into "responsible and irresponsible and presumably only those which are 'responsible can be taken as a sign of development so also the 'positive effects on the 'context would have to be distinguished from those which are 'negative and the former alone taken as a sign of development There seems therefore no reason why reference to the context should not be introdu ced integrally into the definition itself It is obvious that when Riggs defines development as an increasing ability to make and carry out collective decisions affecting the environment (not the context), he is certainly not implying that even if the effects on the environment are irrespon sible it should be regarded as development' In case this is not so there would have been no harm if he had formulated the definition as 'an increasing ability to make and carry out collective decisions affecting the

environment and the context ' for just as there is a distinction between responsible and ' irresponsible development with regard to the nature of the effects on the 'environment," so also there is an analogous distinction between the types of effect on the context ' denoted by the terms positive and negative development

THE UNTENABILITY OF ENVIRONMENT' – CONTEXT' DICHOTOMY

The distinction between ' environment and context, which is so crucial to Riggs's definition, appears to be untenable even in the light of his own explanation of the distinction According to him, ' environment is defined so as to include the physical human and cultural setting of any social system capable of making collective decisions [1*] By contrast the *context* of any social system includes other social systems with which it interacts [13*] The distinction therefore is drawn primarily in terms of a social system on the one hand, and the physical, human and cultural setting of a social system on the other It is difficult to understand how Prof Riggs can conceive of a social system apart from its human and cultural components In fact, if we examine the example he has given to illustrate what he means by ' context it would be seen that the definition he has given is untenable He writes the context of nation states is the international system Within India the context of Rajasthan is other Indian States and the context of Jaipur is other Indian cities [14] If the distinction is so relative as the example illustrates it is difficult to see how at the same time it can be held to be so radical as to provide the foundation for the new clarification of the notion of development' which he has sought to give in terms of this very distinction itself Further while the first example seems to give some sense to the notion of ' context which he is trying to clarify the other two almost render it nonsensical What possibly could be meant by saying that the context of Rajasthan is other Indian States and that of Jaipur other Indian cities ? It is difficult to conceive of the relation between say Rajasthan and Mizoram or Kerala or Tamil Nadu or that of Jaipur and Madras or Trivandrum or Shillong in terms of exploitation or manipulation as would be required in the context of his definition of context

Besides the relativity introduced in the notions of *environment* and context by the examples given by him to illustrate what he means by

---

Prof Riggs has also used the word setting" here for what he has called environment elsewhere But as *explained* in note 5 p 19 of his article he wants to confine it now only to what he meant *earlier* by setting and distinguish it completely from context

'context it is difficult to conceive how a radical distinction could possibly be maintained, as he has tried to do, between the social system, on the one hand and the so-called human and cultural setting of the social system on the other A social sy tem can hardly be conceived of without human or cultural components just as there could hardly be any cultural or human environment which is not anchored in some social system But if this is so it would destroy the distinction on which Riggs has tried to build his whole superstructure at its very foundation The only residue then which would still be connoted by the term "environment' would consist of the physical environment as conceived apart from all human and cultural setting This perhaps is the hard core of the distinction which he is trying to emphasise

The deeper issue with his definition, however is whether he would like to have it as purely neutral i e as having no relation to any specific content which also forms an integral part of every decision In case he wanted to make the definition purely formal he should have defined 'development as 'an increasing ability to make and carry out decisions affecting the environment and the context assuming that the distinctions between 'environment' and "context' were tenable In fact in a certain sense, any mention of the effect of decisions on the 'environment or the context is not necessary at all The formal definition should read "development is an increasing ability to make and carry out decisions' On the other hand if what Riggs has written about "responsible and 'positive development is to be taken seriously then they are to be introduced into the definition itself The definition would then read 'an increasing ability to make and carry out decisions affecting positively the long run effects on the environment and the context *

THE UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES OF COLLECTIVE *DECISION-MAKING*

The introduction of the term collective into the definition can be made only on the metaphysical assumption that only if the decisions were arrived at in a collective manner there could be an 'increase in the ability to make

---

* *Riggs has not drawn any distinction between the short term and long term effects of* decisions on the context" It may be assumed therefore that he considers the distinction as relevant only in respect of environment" and not context" However he has made a distinction between *positive* and negative development primarily in *relation to context and hence it may be taken that the term positive" qualifies only* the effects of decision on context" and does not restrict itself only to those which are long term in character

and carry out decisions ' It is clear that no such metaphysical faith could be entertained on empirical grounds and that even if one were to entertain it, it would be better if it were not to form a part of the definition itself In fact, the very notion of "negative development concedes the possibility that decisions can be made and carried out effectively even when they are not "collective in nature This in fact, should be evident as Riggs accepts that a ruling group may use its growing capacity to manipulate its environment to dominate its own subject populations ' It is difficult to see how the metaphysical faith can be sustained in such a situation for the increasing ability to exploit and manipulate its own populations is a sufficient evidence that the decisions are not ' collective in nature and that this does not hinder their effectivity in any significant sense of the term It could not be the former, since it is difficult to see how a "collective decision making process could result in the exploitation of the collectivity itself The latter is proved by the fact that exploitation and manipulation of its own population has occured on a significant scale

THE FORMAL AND THE SUBSTANTIVE ASPECTS OF DEVELOPMENT

One has therefore reluctantly to conclude that Riggs's latest attempt to clarify the notion of development has hardly met with any success He continuously oscillates between a purely formal definition of development and one that takes into account substantive matters also The necessity of introducing the notions of ' responsible and ' positive development as against those which are irresponsible and ' negative shows the futility of the attempt at a formal definition Similarly the introduction of the distinction between context' and environment renders little help in elucidating the notion of 'development in any significant way It may also be added that though there is some indication what ' negative development might possibly mean there is little to indicate what is ment by positive ' development Even terms such as exploitation or manipulation which have been used to indicate negative development are not clear as would be evident to anyone who goes through the literature on the subject * As for positive development it is obvious that the mere lack of exploitation' or manipulation (whatever may be meant by these terms) would not indicate positive development

---

See my articles, "Surplus Value Profit and Exploitation" *The Review of Economic Studies* England (January 1965) and The Concept of Revolution—An Analysis" *Philosophy—East and West* (July 1973)

G C Singhvi

Towards a Model of Democratic Government

Ideologically, we stand committed to a democratic form of government It should be worthwhile exercise therefore, to have a critical and penetrating look at the existing model of Indian democracy with a view to finding out if it has any shortcomings and if so how could they be efficaciously removed and the system refurbished The proce s of reform is a continuous one and questioning the established practices might prove interesting and functional With this end in view this note examines those limitations of our political system which the author as a voter has found the Indian democracy to be afficted with An endeavour has also been made to examine as to how could our body politic overcome these limitations

ELECTIONS BY PROXY

In the Indian electoral system, it is unclear whether in national and State elections one is voting for a person or a political party It is very rarely that we get the idea in advance as to who will be the Chief Minister or the Prime Minister in case a particular party comes to power The Indian election system has an ambiguity about the situation and this appears to be a clear case of election by proxy which probably does not appeal to an enlightened voter

It is known for certain that a Prime Minister or a Chief Minister will normally not be able to form a team of Ministers of his choice He has to satisfy a good number of conflicting claims and counter claims based on caste creed religion sex region and factions within the party Resultantly ministerial group is bereft of a team spirit, homogeneity and cohesion

Further, in the present set up every MP or MLA has to nurse his constituency to the maximum, since his very survival as a people s represen tative depends on the support he is able to muster from his constituency

during an election If the MP or the MLA belongs to the ruling party he can nurse his constituency properly, but conversely, the constituencies of the legislators belonging to the opposition remain relatively neglected And this discrimination cuts at the very roots of a democratic order

THE MONOPOLY OF POLITICIANS

It also appears to be quite intriguing that our system of democratic government throws up politicians alone to the fore for governance, as if politics were the beginning and the end of all social phenomena One wonders as to why people from other walks of life could not be inducted to the Parliament and the Legislative Assemblies

Moreover, it has been difficult to appreciate why the Indian Constitution permits the appointment of a person outside the Parliament or the Legislative Assembly as Minister of the Union or a State respectively Conceded that an outsider has to get elected as an MP/MLA within six months of his taking over as a Minister the point at issue is why should such a negation of the democratic principle be permitted

THE NEMESIS OF DEFECTIONS

Another disquieting feature of our democratic order is the spate of defections observed in Parliament and Assemblies for personal and pecuniary gains Unwittingly defection has been made a respectable practice in the Indian polity and defectors are exhibited as trophies of political warfare It appears that the fault lies with the present system of parliamentary democracy itself

Besides an enlightened voter has a grievance that our MPs and MLAs other than those who are Ministers are not active participants in the administration of the constituencies which they represent At best they resort to what may be termed back seat driving while in fact they should be at the driver s seat

THE CONFLICTING STRUCTURES

Further a common spectacle of power politics is seen in the form of an undesirable competition between the members of the State Legislative Assemblies and pradhans of panchayat samities on the one hand and between the members of the Parliament and the pramukhs of the zila parishads on the other Thus two sets of elected representatives of the people at the

district as well as the panchayat samiti (tehsil or anchal) levels are seen vying with one another in the local and regional politics

As a corollary one wonders why the zila parishad itself could not be transformed into a legislative body and why the Constitution of India could not earmark those grass-root functions for the zila parishad with which the citizen is most directly concerned This would minimize a citizen s frequent journeys to the capitals of the State and Union governments

LIMITED BASE OF PANCHAYATI RAJ

A related point that strikes one is the fact that municipal cities and towns have not been brought within the area of operation of democratic decentralization And unless democratic decentralization extends to a district as a whole, it cannot generate proper enthusiasm among the people Besides a co-ordinated approach to regional development requires an integration of the rural and urban centres within a district

Even the present system of elections to panchayati raj bodies warrants reconsideration since it primarily follows an indirect system of election In a village panchayat the voter does directly elect panchas as well as the sarpanch but this system is likely to throw up the sarpanch and the panchas belonging to different camps, thus creating problems of collaboration and co-operation The present system of elections in the panchayat samities and zila parishads is indirect and the voters have no direct say in these elections

THE UNREPRESENTATIVE RULERS

It is also intriguing that because of an absence of a provision in the Constitution for President s Rule at the Centre in case of the dissolution of the Parliament the party not having majority support may even continue to be in power as a caretaker government for getting elections conducted This provision cannot be considered entirely democratic

Further consequent upon a general election in case no single party emerges with a clear majority coalitional governments may have to be formed and the experience has shown that coalitional politics rarely promotes orderly progress and democracy

Sometimes one tends to doubt the very legitimacy of party structure for effective parliamentary democracy in the Indian context For instance in the wake of an overwhelming victory of a particular party in the elections to the Lok Sabha a clamour can be successfully raised—as was done in 1977—

for dismissing the State governments and dissolving the Assemblies of States ruled by the opposition parties which were defeated at the polls The argument advanced in support of such an action is that the ruling parties in the State having lost the elections to the Lok Sabha should not continue to rule the State governments for this will be a negation of the spirit of popular representation Resultantly, even though the term of a State Assembly may not have expired, elections are held at the State level and this step, apart from generating uncertainties in the State and causing inertia in the State government in the intervening months, entails a lot of avoidable burden on the State exchequer Such a situation could be avoided if the political parties were not recognised for the purpose of either contesting elections or for running of the government An alternative system needs to be devised

THE EXPENSIVE INSTITUTIONS

Our system of democracy appears to be incompatible with the realities of our economy and society Thousands of candidates contest elections to the Parliament and the Legislative Assemblies from hundreds of constituencies and this adds immeasurably to the cost of elections Electioneering is a costly business in a poor country like India In the first general election held in 1952 a candidate for Parliament required a minimum of one lakh rupees to conduct his campaign Now he needs ten times more And all this has a corrupting influence on voters as well as on the rulers And, finally we have separate *de jure* and *de facto* heads of governments (The President and Prime Minister in case of the Union government and the Governor and Chief Minister in case of State governments) One is inclined to think that the *de jure* heads are more ornamental than useful and in a country with limited resources like ours and since they do not have much of a relevance their positions could be done away with

Having diagnosed the ailments we have to think of devices of curing them And a curative exercise in this realm requires an innovative approach

REDEMARCATION OF FUNCTIONAL AREAS

To begin with the subjects mentioned in the lists of functions performed by Union and States incorporated in the Constitution of India will have to be revised The zila parishads will have to be brought into the picture and assigned certain important grass root functions The State governments on their part should have subjects of regional (rather inter-district) character Similarly the Union government should have only a few subjects of all-India

district as well as the panchayat samiti (tehsil or anchal) levels are seen vying with one another in the local and regional politics

As a corollary, one wonders why the zila parishad itself could not be transformed into a legislative body and why the Constitution of India could not earmark those grass-root functions for the zila parishad with which the citizen is most directly concerned This would minimize a citizen s frequent journeys to the capitals of the State and Union governments

LIMITED BASE OF PANCHAYATI RAJ

A related point that strikes one is the fact that municipal cities and towns have not been brought within the area of operation of democratic decentralization And unless democratic decentralization extends to a district as a whole, it cannot generate proper enthusiasm among the people Besides a co-ordinated approach to regional development requires an integration of the rural and urban centres within a district

Even the present system of elections to panchayati raj bodies warrants reconsideration since it primarily follows an indirect system of election In a village panchayat, the voter does directly elect panchas as well as the sarpanch but this system is likely to throw up the sarpanch and the panchas belonging to different camps, thus creating problems of collaboration and co-operation The present system of elections in the panchayat samities and zila parishads is indirect and the voters have no direct say in these elections

THE UNREPRESENTATIVE RULERS

It is also intriguing that because of an absence of a provision in the Constitution for President s Rule at the Centre in case of the dissolution of the Parliament the party not having majority support may even continue to be in power as a caretaker government for getting elections conducted This provision cannot be considered entirely democratic

Further consequent upon a general election, in case no single party emerges with a clear majority coalitional governments may have to be formed and the experience has shown that coalitional politics rarely promotes orderly progress and democracy

Sometimes one tends to doubt the very legitimacy of party structure for effective parliamentary democracy in the Indian context For instance in the wake of an overwhelming victory of a particular party in the elections to the Lok Sabha a clamour can be successfully raised—as was done in 1977—

minds the responsibilities they will be expected to shoulder as pradhans and pramukhs respectively And as a result their approach will probably become more practical and down to-earth With valuable experience gained in the Legislative Assemblies and Parliament, the pradhans and pramukhs will be able to handle the panchayat samities and zila parishads affairs more a tutely In the proposed set up the standard of debates in Parliament and Legislative Assemblies is likely to register considerable improvement and so would the standard of performance of zila parishads and panchayat samities It can be hoped that these organizations will be able to support and sustain each other mutually

As a corollary to the system proposed above, a significant change will have to be introduced in the elections process to the offices of the Prime Minister of India and Chief Ministers of States Once the pradhans become ex-officio MLAs and pramukhs become ex-officio MP they will not be appointed as Ministers Consequently, Ministers at the Union as well as the State levels will have to be directly elected by voters

ELECTING THE EXECUTIVE TEAMS

In conformity to the proposed scheme elections of Ministers should be for teams rather than for individuals For instance if it is decided that the Union Government of India will have fifty-one Ministers the contenders for the post of Prime Minister should declare the names of all the members of their Cabinet in the event of their victory Thus the victory of a candidate for Prime Minister's position will also mean the election of his team of Ministers The same pattern *mutatis mutandis* will be followed at the State level

We have also to think in terms of electing teams of persons forming executive bodies in the panchayats panchayat samities and zila parishads respectively For the purpose of electing such executive bodies, we will have to create electoral colleges of all eligible voters of various areas To illustrate if it is decided that panchayats panchayat samities and zila parishads will have an executive body each consisting of a homogenous team of say five members including the sarpanch pradhan and pramukh respectively the citizen will vote for teams instead of for individuals Further for contesting elections to the zila parishad executive body a person aspiring to be pramukh will have to take with him four of his associates who will contest the election as a team and on being elected work as members of his executive body There will

REVIEW ARTICLE

A Avasthi

Some Aspects of India's Constitutional Development*

The books under review are the second and the third volumes written by Professor Banerjee to trace the development of the constitutional political and administrative history of India from 1858 to 1977 The second volume covers a period of only 61 years of this evolution as against a period of 258 years covered by the first volume The third volume covers the period of only 59 years, i e from 1919 to 1977

The period of Indian history encompassed between 1600 and 1858 is essentially a saga of the foundation expansion and consolidation of the British empire in India under the auspices of the East India Company and presents a unique spectacle of a small trading company developing into a mighty empire The British raj in India had been consolidated on a firm footing by 1857 covering both the British India and the princely states However at the end of this period occurred an event which shook up not only the East India Company but also the British Government The Indian Mutiny as it has been called, posed not only a political challenge to the rulers but also exposed in full view the weaknesses and loopholes of the existing political and administrative set up in the country

The second period (1858 1919) thus begins with the passing of a momentous law by the British Parliament known as the Government of India Act 1858 which aimed at introducing a system leading to the better government in India and ended with the enactment of the Government of India Act 1919 which marked the beginnings—however inadequate and limited—of responsible government in India The distinguishing land marks of this period were (i) transfer of the authority to govern India from the

* A C Banerjee *Constitutional History of India* Vol II 1858–1919 Vol III 1919–1977 (Calcutta Macmillan & Co of India Ltd 1978)

hands of the Company to those of the Crown (ii) introduction of the portfolio system in the working of the Governor General s Executive Council, (iii) Indian Councils Act of 1861 which provided for further expansion of the Executive Council of the Governor-General by the appointment of additional members for the purpose of making laws and regulations (iv) the first important move in the direction of decentralization by conferring on the governments of the Presidencies of Bengal Bombay and Madras the authority to make laws for the territories under their control (v) association of non-official indians with law making (vi) Indian Civil Services Act 1861 regulating the admission of persons to the Indian Civil Service (vii) Indian High Courts Act 1861 establishing High Courts of judicature at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras (viii) Indian Councils Act of 1892 which expanded the strength of legislative councils introduced a sort of indirect election to some extent and extended their powers (ix) Indian Councils Act of 1909 ushering in what has come to be called Morley-Minto reforms, which in a way converted the legislative councils into subordinate legislatures by expanding their membership and enlarging their powers This Act also introduced in a more obvious form the elected element in the councils but unfortunately took the first step in providing for separate electorates for Muslims and special representation for certain vested interests and (x) finally the enactment of the Government of India Act of 1919 incorporating the scheme of Montford reforms This Act took definite and positive steps in the direction of devolving authority on provincial governments associating Indians more closely and extensively with administration and legislation and introducing some form of responsible government in the provinces The author is thus right in asserting that the central theme of the second volume is the development of parliamentary institutions in British India

The Government of India Act 18 8 was followed by the passing of three very important Acts in 1861—the Indian Civil Service Act the Indian Councils Act and the Indian High Courts Act which may be said to be complementary to the Act of 1659 Professor Banerjee devotes the first seven chapters of the second volume to a discussion of the effects of these four pieces of legislation upon the home government the Government of India the provincial governments the civil service in India judicial administration and the legislative councils Chapter VIII of this volume is devoted to an analytical account of the emergence of various political association in different parts of the country including the most famous of them namely the Indian National Congress A section of this chapter gives

an account of the role of what the author has described as 'militant nationalism which believed in following extreme measures including violence and murder In the next chapter entitled 'Muslim Separatism the author gives a critical account of the rise and growth of a very important phenomenon in the national life of the Country namely Muslim communalism, and the overt and covert support given to it by the British rulers and the efforts of nationalists to appease it Commenting on the Viceroy s eager reception of the Muslim Deputation of October 1906 the author pertinently observes

> This address marks an important stage in the development of separatism Not content with drawing the customary line between *Hindus and Muslims it seeks to create two additional groups* namely animists and other minor religions and those ordinarily classified as Hindus but properly not Hindus at all

Here we have an anticipation of the later official distinction between Caste Hindus and Scheduled Castes Another feature of the address is the importation of the idea of weightage in representative institutions based on political importance military service and historical memories "Any discerning observer of the Indian scene can trace in it the origin of the later Muslim demand for self determination The next five chapters deal with the constitutional changes brought about by the Acts of 1892, 1909 and 1919 The last chapter describes the position of the princely states in this period The Act of 1858 recognized the binding force of the Company's treaties with the native states and the Queen s proclamation issued soon after 'announced to the Native Princes of India that all Treaties and Engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Company are by us accepted and will be scrupulously maintained It also promised the end of any further annexation of the territories of princely states to British India The period may thus be described as the golden era for the native rulers who under the protecting umbrella of the Paramount Power were left free to rule or misrule their subjects at will

The third and the last volume in the triology on Indian constitutional history covers the most exciting and eventful contemporary period of 1919 to 1977 This era extending a little above half a centuty can be divided into two well marked periods (I) 1919 1947 (spreading over 200 pages) which witnessed the fulfilment of the promise of the progressive realisation of responsible government and (ii) 1947 1977 which saw the unfolding and working of the republican constitution of a free India

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE

In the first period, Professor Banerjee analyses and examines the working of dyarchy under the Act of 1919 the Non cooperation Movement of 19 0 22, the appointment of the Simon Commission in 1928 and the submission of its report in 1930 the launching of the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930 and its withdrawal in 1931 the Round Table Conferences of 1930 32 the promulgation of the Act of 1935 with its twin bases of Provincial Autonomy and All India Federation the Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League raising the demand for Pakistan 1940 the Cripps Mission of 1942 the Quit India Movement of 1942, the Wavell Plan of 1945, the Cabinet Mission Plan of 1946 the convening of the Constituent Assembly in 1946 the Mountbatten Plan of 1947 the Act of 1947 bifurcating India into the two dominions of India and Pakistan and the accession of princely states into the Indian Federation

Attention may be drawn to certain incisive and pertinent observations and comments made by the author with respect to certain events and matters occuring in this period Thus referring to Gandhiji s *inclusion of* the Khilafat Agitation as a part of his *Non-cooperation* Movement the learned profe or quotes Gandhiji as saying England cannot expect a meek submis ion by us to an unjust usurpation of rights which to Muslims mean a matter of life and death Professor Banerjee challenges this statement by commenting ' This reference to Muslim rights is extremely curious as the subjection of the Arabs to the Turkish Sultan could never be a matter of life and death to the Muslims of India (p 39) Another instance of the Indian National Congress leadership lack of appreciation of the true nature of the Muslim problem in India was presented by the remarks of Pt Motilal Nehru (then leader of the Swarajya Party in the Indian Legislative Assembly) that he was not afraid of communal differences as these would be eliminated as soon as the 'mischief maker (the British civil service in India) was removed and *Swarajya* was fully established (p 56) One only wishes that the forecast would have come out true Another observation of the author regarding the Quit India Movement albeit controversial is worth reproducing

> But the failure of 1942 seemed to indicate that the withdrawal of the British was not to be secured by the do or die method recommended by Gandhi Freedom eventually came through negotiation and compromise at a time when national leadership was no longer really in his Gandhi s hands (p 277)

We can conclude the appreciation of this period with the author s quotable remarks

> [The] British rulers were asked to quit but the British political system was heartily welcomed The much borrowing from the much condemned Act of 1935 On the whole there was a remarkable continuity in the Indian political system from 1861 to 1949 (p 367)

The second period is discussed briefly in roughly 60 pages and covers topics like' The Constitution of 1949 'Constitutional Amendments and The Changing Constitution

According to the author, the twin foundations of our new Constitution are the parliamentary form of executive of the British pattern and the federal system of polity of the American type In chapter 17 Professor Banerjee describes in outline Rights of the People, Organs of Government Emergency and Amendment and Union State Relations The whole of the next chapter is devoted to a brief discussion of constitutional amendments made between 1951 and 1975 In the opinion of the author, the overall effect of many of these amendments was 'a significant erosion of the Fundamental Rights which the Constitution in its original form conferred upon the people (p 419) In the last chapter Professor Banerjee as a a historian has examined the impact of certain extra constitutional factors which have influenced substantially the manner in which and the purpose for which the democratic structure has functioned in practice The institutions so examined are Parliament Political Parties Union Executive Judiciary Civil Service and Princely States We may at the end draw pointed attention to the remarks of the author in the concluding paragraph of the book

> In retrospect it is clear enough that the States have not played the role which the framers of the Constitution had expected them to play They have not developed into political, administrative and financial units exercising their constitutional rights as self conscious members of a fraternity and contributing to the overall strength of the country through co-operation regulated by the spirit of the Constitution

At the end I may reiterate what I wrote in my review of the first volume The three outstanding features of the book are its readability, its

mprehensiveness and its critical approach Throughout his chronological rration of the origin establishment expansion, consolidation and the entual termination of the British rule in India, Professor Banerjee has stuck his comprehensive and critical treatment of the subject His analysis all ong has been from the wider perspective of legal administrative and olitical aspects and he has not overlooked economic and social facets Of ourse a critic can always point out towards some lacunae and suggest *dditions* of some topics and substraction of others One may even challenge me of his observations and conclusions Verily there has never existed nywhere a book which may be termed as perfect

I wish the excellent material printing and get up of the book had ot been marred by blemishes of printing errors which have crept in both he volumes

BOOK REVIEWS

THE INDIAN POLITICAL PARTIES AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR UPTO 1947

B B Misra

New Delhi Oxford University Press 1976 pp xv+665 Rs 100

Dr Misra s earlier studies of the judicial administration in eighteenth century Bengal and the central administration of the East India Company in the late 18th and early 19th centuries are familiar to all students of modern Indian history Administrative history has been his metier and he has in recent years explored the late 19th century and early 20th century social and political history of India

The range of archival material used in writing this book is impressive but it is strange that private papers of only three Indian political leaders have been used while no less than seventeen British officials and governor generals papers are cited as sources Surely one could learn more on the working of Indian political parties from the personal papers of their leaders than from the government officials On the ideologies of political parties again one would have expected greater use of the writings of Indian political leaders It is surprising to find for instance not a single work of Rajendra Prasad or Muhammad Iqbal or Jayaprakash Narayan listed in the bibliography prolific authors like Lajpat Rai or M N Roy are each represented by a single work cited

The work concentrates mainly on the twentieth century The first four chapters are concerned with the evolution of the major parties upto 1927 the beginning of mass involvement in politics of the parties The next three chapters analyse the history of the chief political parties in the period 1927 42 the phenomenon of what the author calls party regimentation and bid for sovereign power under party control in 1937 42 In the last two chapters the author addresses himself to the task of recounting the political history of the period 1942 to 1947 and he has very little to say that is new While the earlier chapters have at least the merit of putting together much information on the early history of political parties towards the end the main theme gets lost in fairly conventional presentation of the well known facts of political history The major shortcoming of the work throughout is the failure to analyse the systemic features and specifities of the Indian

political parties This is what disappoints the expectations raised by the whole analysis of political behaviour

When Dr Misra does venture into generalizations about the party system in India his observations are often open to question and appear to be derived from sources external to his empirical evidence For instance one of his significant conclusions is that

> [P]roliferation of political parties in India was the result of an interaction between the tradition bound and horizontally stratified status groups of Indian society and the newly emerging social groups united ideologically according to similarity of interests convictions or individual loyalties These two tendencies more or less cut each other at a right angle (p 639)

The inadequacy of such an explanation is plain as soon as one looks beyond the caste based political parties of certain regions It is curious that this general statement is followed in the next paragraph by an account of the party proliferation as a result of secessions from the Congress in 1950 s—the emergence of the Praja Socialist Party Samyukta Socialist Party Swatantra Party Jana Sangh etc While it is worthwhile to investigate what status groups of Indian society such parties represent surely their proliferation is not to be explained in terms of this simple scenario where traditional groupings reject interest based ideological groupings and split away

Another major thesis is as follows

> Sociologically a serious anomaly of political behaviour in Indian situation arose from the forte that while a highly bureaucratized rule oriented and rational administration was for historical reasons called upon to frame rules governing legislative business as well as codes of political conduct and public morality India s status bound traditional society knew of no rule of law as a guiding principle (p xi)

Thus a dichotomy between administration and society and Gandhi s non cooperation and civil disobedience movements were clear expressions of the manner in which the bureaucratic standard of political conduct was fast yielding place to a variety of social beliefs and norms showing little or no respect for the rule of law as a principle of public conduct (*ibid*) For one thing the codes of political conduct etc were not a gift of the British Indian bureaucracy These were earned through study and emulation and

adaptation of the British political system by participants in Indian political processes over a long time if anything despite the British Indian bureau cracy For another, let us not forget the basic questions What was the content of the rationality of rational administration of a colonial system ? Whose were the laws towards which Gandhi was not sufficiently respectful ? Was the origin of dichotomy between administration and society primarily in the traditional character of society or in the colonial character of the administration ? A species of formalism—blindness to the content and concentration on the form and exterior structures—leads Dr Misra unfailingly to the wrong answers

However, Dr Misra has amassed much factual information and this work is likely to be useful as such to those who are unfamiliar with the history of Indian political parties

S BHATTACHARYA

CHILDREN IN CRECHES

Alfred de Souza

New Delhi Intellectual Publishing Co 1979 Rs 30

One of the problems that the working mothers face is providing for the proper care of the children during the working hours Very often the older children have to look after the younger ones This is detrimental to their growth One of the approaches to solve the problem has been to establish creches The Social Welfare Department has been providing assistance to voluntary organizations to set up creches for children for working and ailing mothers The scheme was intended to assist working mothers from low income groups (total earning around Rs 300) The scheme is also envisaged as a demonstration centre for providing integrated services of health sanitation and nutrition to children in the age group of 0 to 5 years

The book under review is an evaluative study of the creches run by voluntary organizations The purpose of the study was to generate systematic information on the working of these creches The study was concerned with the structural performance the clientele and the implications of the data for policy and programmes The survey data were collected

in 23 (out of a universe of 44) creches in which information regarding the users and organization was collected Seven creches were cho en for intensive study

The first chapter of the book deals with clientele—women and children Information regarding their education marital status family size occupational patterns the husbands income health and nutrition has been collected The second chapter discusses structure and performance of creches The areas covered are environment location admission criteria, working hours equipment nutrition programmes health immuni ation budget etc While there are some problems with regard to structural organization they do provide a comparatively good custodial care for the children The question as to whether such creches can be oriented to the physical emotional and mental development of the children is raised The third chapter deals with the organizational needs The study shows that the organizations are of three types The salary levels of the personnel and hence al o the educational levels of the workers vary The study makes some suggestions for the revision of the pattern of financial assistance There is obviously clear need for some restructuring of the organization

The last chapter summarizes the findings The study surveyed 381 mothers and 448 children The mothers were from low economic status The age range of the majority was 25 34 The children surveyed suffered from malnutrition The environmental situation of the creches was not satisfactory The equipment was inadequate The funds available were not sufficient

The chapter also discusses the theoretical significance and policy implications One of the issues is whether the creches should be considered only as Custodial Service If this concept is accepted then there are various implications for the programme The question of the implications for the socialization of the child which in traditional India has been through the family and the community is also raised The study shows that mothers were responsive to advice from the creches workers although most of them had rural background This behaviour has implications for social change

From the view point of policy it is suggested that a para medical worker might be more useful than a doctor Such an approach ild provide for non formal education to the mothers in the area of health nutrition hygiene and sanitation The need where a child can relate it elf

in a meaningful way to an adult has to be taken into consideration Suffi cient attention has to be paid to recruitment and work load so that a child is not completely devoid of some emotional linkages

It is difficult to think of an alternate to the programme of creches which can fulfil the needs of the mothers as well as children The present study shows that the functioning of these creches leaves much to be desired Practical suggestions have been made in this study which could improve the performance of the creches However the more important question of the socialization of the child has to be given greater consideration The book should be of great interest to anybody concerned with welfare of children

A P BARNABAS

DYNAMICS OF DEVELOPMENT Volumes I & II

S K Sharma Editor

New Delhi Concept 1977 pp xxxii+1332 Rs 300

The post Second World War and post colonial era has been marked by a new concept of public administration in the form of development adminis tration There are scholars who have thought of development administra tion as a genus different from public administration Their attempt is to treat development administration as a distinct and separate discipline with its own laws principles organ zation procedures, techniques and ethos This is however not true In essence development administration aims at all round development—economic social political and even ethical—of the citizen and his environment As such development administration cannot achieve its goals through private or non official effort alone it has perforce to be a public or governmental activity to be able to make any dent on the problems of poverty under nourishment dilapidated housing backwardness social inequalities and political instability Development administration thus is nothing but public administration is geared to achieving develop- ment goals It is of course true that development implies a widening of the traditional goals of public administration as well as the use of new agencies

procedures techniques and instruments to realise its aims In brief while there is no dichotomy between public administration and development administration the latter does represent a new focus and calls for new instruments

Another aspect of development administration also needs clarification Quite often, development administration is contrasted with what is called regulatory administration It is again a lop sided view The basic core of regulatory administration is law and order or police function But, is it not the very foundation of any sort of development in society ? Is it really possible to envisage any backward society developing economically socially and politically amidst anarchical conditions ? It is the neglect of this truth that has led to growing deterioration in the discharge of the primary function of government namely maintenance of peace and order and has bred insecurity in public mind in our country Similarly for achieving economic and social justice lot of regulation and control over the activities of the individuals and their group and associations is required Thus regulatory administration far from being antithetical to development administration is complementary to it

With the basic confusion cleared let us try to find out what new agencies instruments procedures and techniques are needed to achieve the goals of development administration In the first place new forms of agencies are needed and we have witnessed since Independence in our country the emergence of a plethora of such agencies in the forms of companies corporations boards and commissions created to grapple with new problems But even more important and basic has been the setting up of panchayati raj institutions considered to be the best agencies of change to be effected through popular participation Unfortunately these institutions by and large have been used as instruments of political power rather than agencies of development In the second place development administration needs a new type of civil service to put into operation the policies of government It is here that we have failed most The neutral careerist civil service has proved both uncommitted to development and incompetent to implement change There is thus need for a new type of inspired committed skilled and professional civil service to deliver the goods Thirdly new procedures and techniques of doing things is wanted The requisite of planned and programmed development is uninterrupted and continuous action Lethargic indifferent go-slow and shoddy ways of working must be e ch ed completely In carrying out these tasks new

techniques of Work Study PPBS (Planning Programming and Budgeting Systems) PERT (Programme Evaluation and Review Techniques) Performance Budgeting Cost Accounting and Cybernetics can be used with advantage

A debate on the theory, concept nature and scope of development administration as well as its agencies instruments techniques and procedures is thus very much called for Dr S K Sharma deserves encomium for undertaking a difficult and ambitious task in the form of the two volumes under review

The book is dedicated in honour of Dr J N Khosla, Professor, diplomat and administrator But this is a dedication volume with a difference I believe there obtains nowhere a dedication or commemoration volume running into over 1300 pages encompassed in two bulky volumes containing such rich fare Talking about these volumes a colleague remarked Well Dr Sharma has not written the book he has only edited it The person concerned obviously has not got adequate comprehension of the nature of the arduous task of an editor To be able to persuade as many as 113 known scholars and administrators to write essays for the volume is an appreciable achievement and what is more to be able to get contributions from such busy persons in time shows the good public relations contacts and standing of the author or editor Above all, such contributions have to be classified grouped and edited and got ready for the press and this involves considerable industry, care and attention Dr Sharma s Introduction is a good attempt to give the substance of the various contributions I take this opportunity to congratulate him on this laudable work

The essays have been divided into two volumes The first volume covers general discussion about conceptual framework of development theories of political development systems analysis bureaucracy and development and administrative reforms etc Volume two deals with goals strategy and environment of development economic policy social welfare and development The coverage of the book is thus very comprehensive However I wish there were some essays on the role of panchayati raj institutions as an agency of development As it is volume two contains only one essay on the subject by Mr D S Chauhan entitled Democratic Development and Local Development Administration and this essay is more in the nature of a general description of the organisation and functions of panchayati raj institutions and is not a critical examination of these

institutions as effective agencies of development Dr Sharma himself has been working in this field and has written a book on Integrated Rural Development and I wish he takes in hand the task of filling in this gap

The book under review contains so much material of good quality that the two volumes will easily constitute reference books on development in its varied aspects and will continue to serve as source material for some time to come

A AVASTHI

PRESIDENT'S RULE IN INDIA

S R Maheshwari

New Delhi The Macmillan Co of India Ltd , 1977 pp 223 Rs 50

Professor Maheshwari timed the release of his book at a point when the issue whether the Centre had the power to dismiss the non Janata governments in some of the States was being hotly debated after the Janata Party had come into power in March 1977 As such it became an instant seller both with the politicians as well as the journalists who were involved in the mental exercise and who sought to find an authoritative academic support for justifying their stand Although the book provides a good deal of information about the procedure and processes involved in the operation of Article 356 of the Indian Constitution, one is still at a loss to find a definitive answer to the kind of controversy that usually surrounds the invoking of this article

Using his management science background the author has attempted to present a model/cycle of the steps that are usually involved in the imposition of the President s rule in a State (p 16) The author has then described the circumstances in which the President s rule was enforced (thirty seven times) upto that point in various States classifying them in three different periods 1950 66 1967 71 and 1971 76 corresponding to the periods of overstability political fluidity and the aftermath of the Indo-Pak war 1971 In subsequent chapters the discussion has also centred around

Officer and even a General Assistant With considerable flow of funds through cooperatives and other public sector financial institutions and the control of such flow by the District Development Agency, legally a registered society but actually a committee of government officials the relevance of panchayati raj is questionable The author protests against centralization of rural development But decentralization had been tried for over ten years and found wanting At the sub district level the parallel existence of panchayat samities not necessarily co terminus with sub division or *tehsil*, and consequential inconveniences are not discussed There is one important omission—the T & V (Training and Visit) method of agriculture extension introduced through efforts of the World Bank eliminating democracy from technology transfer from lab to land

That the States have repeatedly appointed committees for adminis trative reforms is brought out very well though the information is till 1973 Apparently many recommendations remain unimplemented There are educative chapters on public services (2% of India s population) Constitu tional bodies like Public Service Commissions—public sector regionalism Centre–State Relations and Local Government The handy appendix on districts in India is a disappointment to Rajasthanis—Jaisalmer is third largest in area after Ladakh and Bastar Jaipur district has less than one third the population of 24 *Parganas*

MOHAN MUKERJI

GOVERNMENT AND *POLITICS OF BIG CITIES*
AN INDIAN CASE STUDY

Ali Ashraf

Delhi Concept Publishing Company 1977 pp xv+201 Rs 32

In India urban politics has become the focus of attention primarily of social scientists But their contribution in this field is meagre in comparison to that of American scholars who through several in-depth studies, have tried to trace out areas of power and influence that overlap the formal structures of party or bureaucracy and which penetrate other social institutions

The urban population in India is nearly 20 percent of the total population—it may not be a very high figure but in absolute numbers, 109 million urbanites form more than the population of quite a few countries The growing pace of urbanization has posed many problems of development For instance municipal government institutions have provided a readymade arena for the interplay of urban political forces In big cities because of substantial resources and power at stake local leaders and political parties try to control the municipal institutions and then distribute patronage to consolidate and expand their local political base

In the book under review, Prof Ashraf has explored the character of Indian municipal politics and how it affects municipal performance Who controls the local government and for what purposes ? What are the dominant values and interests of politicians who control these bodies ? To what extent these institutions are accountable ? How does the civil leadership in the local political system respond to the challenge of improving municipal performance ? And are these authorities viable to provide civic amenities to the citizens ?

To find out answers to these questions Prof Ashraf has selected for his comparative study three big city corporations of Calcutta Kanpur and Ahmedabad He has underscored the performance of grass root democracies and pointed out that the performance of these bodies depends on the pattern of urban politics—the social forces that dominate the city, the degree of political responsibility among civic leaders their cultural values and political interests (p 10) Taking historical and democratic factors into account the author spells out the differences and problems of these three big cities The study shows that in the realms of urbanization literacy and per capita income Gujarat is leading West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh

To analyse the nature of civil leadership in Calcutta Kanpur and Ahmedabad reference period from 1924 to 1970 has been taken In Calcutta power structure is dual—the economy is in the hands of non-Bengali industrialists while the political and cultural life is controlled by the Bengalis Calcutta s municipal politics has not been pragmatic it has proved to be short sighted in distributing the financial resources with the latent purpose of strengthening only the ruling community This approach has resulted into indiscipline inefficiency and corruption and has made the corporation insolvent The study reveals that in Kanpur power politics Brahmin Muslim cooperation and coalition has emerged as the ruling clique of the Municipal Board (p 39) This finding is contrary to the general belief

that Brahmins and Muslims are mutually antagonistic and cannot live together And yet, Kanpur's politics is faction-ridden, it lacks party cohesion discipline and responsibility, and is completely egocentric and parasitical On the other hand, Ahmedabad politics is indigenous and cohesive and its leadership is public-spirited

As far as the performance of municipal bodies is concerned the study reveals that the Calcutta and Kanpur Corporations have done a poor job in fulfilling obligatory functions and have not been able to assume any significant optional functions, while Ahmedabad Corporation has not only discharged its obligatory functions but has performed several optional functions as well It is creditable that this Corporation even runs a medical college Thus both Calcutta and Kanpur Corporations have diminished their authority and capacity while Ahmedabad has improved its authority and viability

The author has advocated the policy of educating and training the people in *solving their common local problems, he is against the weakening* of local self governing institutions Professor Ashraf s suggestion that higher governments should provide utmost help to the local bodies in the tasks of civic improvement is welcome but he seems to have over stressed the possible role of voluntary agencies in solving the problems of weaker sections A research study of Nagpur voluntary associations by Robert Wirsing *Socialist Society and Free Enterprise Politics* shows that such associations are controlled by elites and at the cost of public funds they are broadening their own political base

Prof Ashraf s suggestion that the success of local self government institutions depends on Bania ethics which is entrepreneurial, altruistic, creative and public spirited is fully acceptable because no institution can grow in an atmosphere of tension and exploitative orientations of the key actors involved

The book is a welcome addition to the emergent field of urban politics which requires more comparative studies of this type The volume is well published and has a moderate price

HOSHIAR SINGH

STATE TRADING IN INDIA

M L. Gupta

Agra Sahitya Bhawan 1979, pp 274 Rs 25

This study seeks to present an operational analysis of India s state trading agencies in general and the State Trading Corporation of India in particular This is what the author writes in the preface The present study is the published doctoral thesis in Commerce submitted by the author to the University of Rajasthan Although the study is mainly confined to the State Trading Corporation the author has for obvious reasons included an analytical account of the working of the M M T C (Minerals and Metals Trading Corporation of India Ltd) which is an off shoot of the S T C Dr Gupta has quoted profusely from the relevant statistics upto the year 1975 76 He has rightly devoted a chapter to Rationale and Philosophy of State Trading wherein he observes

> In State trading agencies as in case of other state run undertakings the officials are drawn from the civil services It is difficult for them to develop a sense of indentification with the organization and getting themselves equipped with the knowledge of latest management techniques (p 15)

It is good that Dr Gupta has devoted more than thirty pages not only to state trading in countries of the Soviet and Western blocks but has also made brief study of certain important countries in the East and South East Asia The author has given salient features of state trading in such countries and has indicated the gaps in their working He is right when he observes that most of the state trading agencies in centrally planned economies as well as free economies are limited liability companies He has also made an objective study of other types of agencies engaged in state trading in different countries He regards an autonomous corporation as the best type of agency for state trading of which we have a solitary example in the Food Corporation of India the rest having been set up as limited liability companies under the Indian Companies Act 1956

After dealing with the organization and working of the S T C the author maintains that because of its multi-dimensional growth the Govern

ment of India finally decided to break it up into four smaller subsidiaries so that the S T C could be able to achieve its objective of acting ' as a real instrument of the economic growth of the nation

In chapters 7 and 8 Dr Gupta has made an objective study of pricing policy and Financial Management and Ratio Analysis He has highlighted the point that the pricing policies of the state trading corpora tions in India are subjected to government directives ministers influences (or interference) and internal and external pressures

It is a useful publication and a welcome addition to the existing literature on the subject

R G SARIEN

FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA

M J K Thavaraj

New Delhi Sultan Chand & Sons 1979, Rs 30

Prof Thavaraj has recognised that the books on financial administration tend to fall in one of the two categories those which describe the system and highlight the trends in revenues and expenditure of government and those which give a descriptive account of parts of the system accented on historical evolution He states that while academics could not unravel the mysteries surrounding the system the practising administrators writing on the subject could not cut across the details and get at the concepts and design of the system It is his belief that his book would avoid the pitfalls in both the types of works One might readily concede that Prof Thavaraj is eminently equipped to do so He is an academic who is in contact with governmental practices through membership of committees concerned with one or another aspect of financial administration and more significantly through the frequent contacts with practitioners who attend in large numbers courses and seminars at the Indian Institute of Public Administration His work reveals in great and satisfying measure his familiarity with details as well as his good vision of the design and concepts of financial administration In that respect one might say that there is hardly any significant aspect of financial administration which his book leaves undescribed or unanalysed

The design and concepts emerge from the narration along with significant observations on the functioning of the system Nonetheless one might be excused for making one or two observations on the structure and design of the book itself Broadly it might be said that the book tends to give plethora of details which sometimes by the sheer exuberence create difficulties in perceiving the main outline of the system in sharp focus Understandably the target audience is the student body attempting to grasp the intricacies of financial administration It is felt that even the student body might have liked if there were a longer and detailed description in such chapters as Rationality in Government Financial Management of Public Enterprises etc with all the benefit of Prof Thavaraj's shrewd observations of the scene all these years reflected therein While analytical remarks on one aspect or another of the system are scattered around the book in profusion a comprehensive judgement or an all pervading appraisal of the administration as a whole might perhaps have been most welcome

It is however necessary to emphasize that Prof Thavaraj has all along kept the focus on describing the financial administration in the context of efforts made by the Government to adjust and modify the system to the needs of a development oriented administration As he puts it the system in force prior to Independence was found wanting in dealing with the dynamic needs of planning and implementation of the massive programmes of economic development and social change It is against this background that he has spent less of time and effort in analysing the trend of revenue and expenditure over the years and concentrated more on those aspects of the administration that have acquired significance and importance The author therefore has devoted a good deal of effort in familiarising the students with concepts like cost benefit analysis performance budgeting, internalisation of accounting management accounting as well as the institutional apparatus set up by the government to cope with new demands these concepts make on financial administration

These concepts are explained in lucid manner and the explanations are amply supplied with illustrations The modern student of public/financial administration as well as the modern practitioner of financial administration are both likely to find much that is useful in the book One would readily endorse the author s modest extent that the book would be found stimulating too by the students and administrators

S M PATANKAR

POLITICS AND LANGUAGE

Y D Phadke

Bombay Himalaya Publishing House, 1979, pp xxiii+359 Rs 60

The book is a slightly revised version of the doctoral dissertation of Dr Phadke and is largely based on sources hitherto unpublished Primarily, it is a case study and seeks to portray the movement for the creation of Samyukta Maharashtra

The author interviewed or consulted more than one hundred persons connected with the Samyukta Maharashtra movement Another important source of information was the record of various political parties and other organizations and groups involved in the Samyukta Maharashtra movement The narration of ' inside-stories revealed for the first time in this book was carefully checked after ascertaining the facts from the concerned individuals as far as possible

The book consists of an Introduction eleven chapters three appendices, select bibliography and an index Chapter one deals with the history of the movement for linguistic States in India in general, chapter two explains the rise and growth of the Samyukta Maharashtra movement in the context of the society and politics in Maharashtra, chapter three describes the origin and the growth of the Samyukta Maharashtra movement, chapters four, five six and seven are devoted to the Battle for Bombay which is explained in four distinct phases chapter eight deals with the formidable challenge thrown up by the opposition parties and the decision making process within the Congress chapter nine discusses the merger of Marathwada (a part of the former Hyderabad State C P and Berar) with Samyukta Maharashtra, chapter ten examines the problem of demarcating Maharashtra s boundaries with its neighbouring States and the last chapter highlights the tortuous course of decision making which culminated in the emergence of Maharashtra on 1 May 1960

Psephology (sociological and statistical study of election results and trends) it appears has no relevance to India The legislature does not always seem to represent the Real Politics especially when a party which obtains 30 percent of the votes polled (where hardly 50 percent of the voters exercise their franchise) secures 75 percent of the seats in the legislature Hence the General Elections held in the old Bombay State in 1957 when

the candidates supported by the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti were elected, cannot be accepted as a conclusive proof of public support for Maharashtra because the Bahujan Samaj (literal meaning is the masses but what it really meant is the bulk of the population excluding the Brahmins as well as the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes) had the feeling that they did not get an effective share in power They opposed the Congress but did not actively advocate the cause for Maharashtra—the Marathas and Kunbis constitute about 50 percent of the population

Dr Phadke has highlighted the apathy of Dr Ambedkar towards the question of the formation of linguistic States However Ranadive was aware of the danger of chauvanism that was lurking behind the movement for the creation of such States As compared to Dange he did not actively support the movement for linguistic States Dange and his group on the other hand spearheaded the Communist campaign for inclusion of Bombay in Maharashtra

In view of these facts it is difficult to agree with Dr Phadke s conclusion that the Congress High Command (CHC) persisted on rejecting the demand for Samyukta Maharashtra but the potential threat to the Congress rule in Bombay made the CHC retract and finally concede the demand of the Marathi speaking people well before the Third General Elections of 1962 as the Congress continued to lose bye elections not only in Bombay city but also in Marathwada which rallied behind the Congress in the 1957 elections (p 324)

Another approach to the interpretation of the decision making involved in this regard may be hypothesized as follows The Samyukta Maharashtra was an elitist agitation and not a mass movement as the great majority of the people (Bahujan Samaj Backward classes) were not as emotionally involved as were the followers of the Dange faction of the CPI The industrial workers in Bombay city are not below the poverty line and do not belong to the general category of masses since they are relatively more urbanized and modernized with income level that places them in the middle class or even upper middle class

In the Lok Sabha N V Gadgil created quite a stir when he warned that the people would decide the Bombay issue on the streets (p 144) The militants from the Dange faction of the CPI supplied the manpower for this agitation and they did not allow the State government to function

by resorting to Satyagraha etc The conditions created in Bombay city influenced the persons at decision making points to create the uni lingual Maharashtra and take credit for the same

The story of the integration of Marathwada and Vidarbha with Maharashtra is not given adequate space in the book as the author seems to be committed to Samyukta Maharashtra and is emotionally attached to the positive benefits from a policy of linguistic redistribution of States in India Since the formation of Maharashtra on 1 May, 1960 the issue of a separate Vidarbha has been in the forefront of every election and only those who expressed their support to the cause of Vidarbha could win from that area In view of this, it is difficult to justify the position taken by the author —a votary of psephology—that Vidarbha movement was never backed by the bulk of the population of Maha Vidarbha

The rise and growth of the Samyukta Maharashtra movement has been studied by Dr Phadke in the particular context of the society and politics in Maharashtra He has pointed out that personal rivalries, ambitions and temperamental differences were partly responsible for the bitter intra party struggle for power but partly it was also due to the socio-economic setting in which the factions operated It was not a coincidence that a new leadership emerged during that period replacing the old guards who had controlled the Congress organization for more than two decades (p 31)

Dr Phadke deserves to be congratulated for his insights It is a pity he has not followed his own premises to their logical conclusion The following observations of the author may be noted (1) During the period of three and half years from the inauguration of the bigger bilingual State to its bifurcation the old leadership of the Marathwada Congress was replaced by a new one which identified itself completely with the Chavan faction (p 279) (2) It is significant that some of the supporters of Kannamwar boldly challenged Shankar Rao Deo s right to negotiate with them They wanted to know in which capacity he had come to talk to them These were ominous signs of the new alignment of political forces in Maharashtra which were slowly taking shape (p 294)

Since the author has not explained the political process involved in the whole series of events he has tended to give the delineation of political events and incidents and has not made an analysis of political forces and

s that contributed to the formation of Maharashtra However forts made by Dr Phadke to delineate fully the tortuous decision ig process within the ruling party and the Government of India that led to the emergence of the State of Maharashtra deserve to be ciated

The book is probably the first comprehensive and authentic int of the negotiations and intra party bargaining in which the arashtra Congress leaders participated during 1946 1960 Since the 'discovers certain facts the details of which were not known even to al active participants in the Samyukta Maharashtra movement it is hoped that others interested and engaged in this area of study and rch will be encouraged to undertake an in depth analysis of the issues are relevant to politics and language in Maharashtra and other States ndia It is nice to find that academics such as D R Gadgil and C N l had played a role in the politics of language in Maharashtra

The book can be commended to citizens, the policy makers gramme executives and everyone interested in public affairs since it s a glimpse of how we ruled ourselves between 1946 and 1960

V S MURTI

ANNOUNCING

SPECIAL DOUBLE NUMBER

OF

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE

ON

PUBLIC SECTOR UNDERTAKINGS

VOLUME VIII Nos 1 & 2



WRITE TO

THE CENTRE FOR ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE

7 JHA 5 JAWAHAR NAGAR JAIPUR 302004



E CENTRE FOR ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE

PUBLICATIONS

e Indian Administrative System *says in Honour of Ziauddin Khan* ited by Ramesh K. Arora G B Sharma oshiar Singh and Meena Sogani	1978	Rs 65
ureaucracy and Change B Mehta	1975	Rs 10
erspectives in Administrative Theory dited by Ramesh K. Arora	1979	Rs 70
dministration of Rural Development *rogrammes* Edited by D R Mehta and Satish K. Batra	(ready for release)	
dministrative System in an Indian *State Rajasthan* Edited by Satish K. Batra	forthcoming	
eadership in Administration By Asha Hingar	forthcoming	

THE CENTRE FOR ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE
7 Jha 5 Jawahar Nagar
JAIPUR 302004 (India)

Registered by the Registrar of Newspapers for India

Publ shed by Satish K. Batra for the Centre for Adm n strat ve Change and pr nted at Friends Printers & Stationers Jaipur 30?003

Chief Edit r A. B Mathur *Ed t r* Ramesh K. Arora

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE is a bi annual organ of the Centre for Administrative Change It is devoted to the problems of adminis trative innovation development administration and the general area of administrative raforms It carries contributions from civil servants managerial executives and teacher researchers in the area of administrative sciences

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE is indexed or abstracted in *Sage Public Administration Abstracts International Political Science Abstracts Documentation in Public Administration Human Resources Abstracts and Index India*

CONTRIBUTIONS may be addressed to the Editor at B 56 Janata Colony Jaipur 302004 India The views expressed in signed articles are personal opinions of the contributors and ADMINIS TRATIVE CHANGE is in no way responsible for them The Editor welcomes short comments on the contributions published in ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE

SUBSCRIPTION *For Institutions* One year Rs 50 $ 9 £ 4 Two years Rs 90 $ 17 £ 7 50 Three years Rs 130 $ 25 £ 11 Life membership Rs 500 *For Individuals* One year Rs 30 $ 7 £ 2 5 Two years Rs 50 $ 13 £ 5 Three years Rs 75 $ 18 £ 7 5 Life Membership R. 300

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE

Founded by Late Shri B Mehta

Vol VII—No 2 Jan June 1980

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

Title	Author	Page
What is the Question?	EDWIN O STENE	123
Management Consultants and Bureaucrats Toward A Transactional Analysis	M MUSHKAT JR	133
The Political Factor in Public Administration in Developing Countries	A K SINHA	145
Development Administration Under Stress The Bihar Experience	B P SINGH & AWADESH PRASAD	156
The Civic Context of Private Sector Issue of Social Responsibility	T N CHATURVEDI	171
Bureaucracy and Alienation in the Arab Gulf States	FAISAL AL-SALEM	182
Towards A Modified Notion of Civil Service Neutrality	AKHTAR ALI KHAN	216

BOOK REVIEWS

Title	Reviewer	Page
Democracy, Bureaucracy and Technology Assumptions of Public Management Theory (*M A Muttalib*)	HIREN J PANDYA	[illegible]
People s Participation in Development Process Essays in Honour of B Mehta (*Ramesh K Arora Editor*)	SHIVIAH	[illegible]
The Evolution of Politics in Bangladesh 1947 1978 (*S K Chakrabarti*)	M SHAMSUR REHMAN	
Adolescent Thieves A Study in Socio-Cultural Dynamics (*K S Shukla*)	V JAGANNADHAM	

Contemporary Management Thinkers *(M L Mishra)*	SUDESH K SHARMA	235
The Judicial Process *(Henry J Abraham)*	B P BERI	237
Training and Administrative Development *(Ramesh K Arora and Jagdish C Kuker, Editors)*	S P VERMA	237
The Language Issue in India *(N K Prasad)*	M KISTIAH	239
Politics and Administration for Total Human Development *(Swami Ranganathananda)*	P D KUDAL	239
Distribution and Differential Location of Utilities in Urban Development *(Girish K Mishra and K.S R.N Sharma)*	H S VERMA	241

CONTRIBUTORS

ARTICLES

EDWIN O STENE is Professor Emeritus of Political Science and Public *Administration University of Kansas Lawrence Kansas, 66045 U S A*

M MUSHKAT JR is Associate Professor of Political Science University of Hong Kong Hong Kong

A K SINHA is Director of Agriculture Government of Haryana, Chandigarh India

B P SINGH is Reader in Political Science, Bhagalpur University Bhagalpur Bihar India

AWADHESH PRASAD is Lecturer in Political Science Bhagalpur University Bhagalpur Bihar India

T N CHATURVEDI is Director Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi 110002 India

FAISAL AL SALEM is Chairman Department of Political Science Kuwait University Kuwait

AKHTAR ALI KHAN is Lecturer in Political Science Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh India

BOOK REVIEWS

HIREN J PANDYA is Professor and Head, Department of Public Administration, South Gujarat University *Surat*

SHIVIAH is Professor at National Institute of Rural Development Hyderabad

M SHAMSUP REHMAN *is Visiting Fellow from Bangladesh at South Asia Studies Centre University of Rajasthan Jaipur*

V JAGANNADHAM is former Director Indian Institute of Public Administration New Delhi

SUDESH K SHARMA is Associate Professor of Public Administration Punjab University, Chandigarh

JUSTICE B P BERI is Chairman Pay Commission Rajasthan Jaipur

S P VERMA *is Professor of Behavioural Sciences,* Indian Institute of Public *Administration New Delhi 110002*

M KISTIAH is Reader in Public Administration, Kakatiya University, Warangal, A P

JUSTICE P D KUDAL is Judge, Rajasthan High Court, Jaipur

H S VERMA is Professor, V V Giri Institute of Development Studies Lucknow

EDITORIAL BOARD

Edwin O Stene

What is the Question ?

One of the most remarkable characteristics of the history of literature and practice in the field of public administration has been the persistence of a set of standards of organization variously identified as classical theory, "mechanistic structure or 'principles of administration The ideas have been labelled as dogmas[1] proverbs[2] and platitudes[3] yet they are basic to recommendations of virtually every official committee and consulting agency called upon to study and report on the organization of American national state, and local government administrative systems On the other hand, behavioural sciences systems analysis and other recent developments in organization theory appear to have had little impact on survey commission reports

How can we explain the persistence of organizational guidelines so widely criticized in theoretical literature of the last generation? Academicians may be prone to contend that the reliance on orthodox standards reflects an ignorance of new developments, combined with natural resistance to new ideas It is difficult to accept this explanation however, especially when one observes the frequent and active participation of current organization theorists of conferences of professional administrators and other governmental associations And certainly the concepts of team management and participative decision making have been incorporated into the organizational development sponsored at all levels of government

A more plausible explanation may be that those who seek to develop theoretical and conceptual analyses of administrative operation have failed to recognize the different perspectives that underlie supposedly conflicting generalizations about the subject Questions that so-called orthodox theorists sought to answer are not the same as the questions posed by behavioural scientists

and systems analysts And, quite naturally an answer to question B is of little help to people who are asking question A Hence, the need to look at the questions asked by orthodox theorists by human relations researchers by behavioural scientists, and others In doing so we may also find that the different perspectives reflect the central tendencies of political science approaches, of business administration approaches, and sociological approaches to the study of organizations

In general the questions that underlie these different approaches are as follows

1 How should we organize governmental agencies in order to carry out a complex set of policies and programmes of action ?

2 How can the leadership of an organized body of people secure co operation and compliance with plans that have been decided upon and directives issued to carry out those plans ?

3 How do people behave in organizations and why ?

4 How does the environment influence an organization and how does the organization affect its environment ?

Other questions that might b [illegible] be mentioned I [illegible] However if we look at the major concep [illegible] from the point [illegible] ew of the questions stated above we may [illegible] serves a p [illegible] purpose better than the others And we [illegible] the emphasi [illegible] model reflects the [illegible] ed of the time

HOW SHOULD W [illegible]

Orthodox or cl [illegible] be [illegible] on is prescriptive rath [illegible] who were instrume [illegible] of the century nec [illegible] their whole purpose [illegible] that were considered [illegible] to cities for example, [illegible] ment thus leading to t [illegible]

nanager plans At the State level the focus was on the executive and adminis rative services [4] At all levels of government the major objectives were greater itizen control effective policy implementation, and the conservation of inancial and other resources (efficiency)

Significantly answers to these same questions have been the concerns of idministrative reorganization reports of the President s Committee on Administrative Management (1937) of the First Hoover Commission (1949) and of the several State reorganization survey commissions throughout a period of more than fifty years [5]

The accepted standards of organization were adopted by political scientists—some of whom were members of citizens reform groups and survey commissions[6]—and the label of ' principles was attached [7] The prescriptive emphasis was consistent with the history of a search for and advocacy of desirable forms of government by political scientists of that time and with the general emphasis in the early years of the century on systems of organization

The alternative to advocacy was mere description but since the existing system was the object of widespread criticism and dissatisfaction an advocacy of change was virtually inevitable Other forms of organization might have been advocated to be sure—and there were other alternatives[8]—but the most frequent criticisms of existing governments were focused on indecision, unresponsivene s lack of citizen control difficulties of coordination and inefficiency The changes that were advocated sought to correct these faults by centralizing the administrative organization by establishing individual responsibility for administrative decision making by simplifying the administrative structure and by the independent audit [9]

An examination of the more recent American reorganization reports will show that the same objectives are foremost in the charges made to study commissions and the same criticisms are present The commissions and the consultants are called upon to recommend changes and the basic question is the same as it was fifty years and more ago *How should we organize governmental agencies in order to carry out a complex set of public policies and programmes of action ?*

One should note at this point that the early American advocates of administrative reform did not draw upon the works of Frederick Taylor the business efficiency expert, although the objectives of productivity and

efficiency were characteristic of both Taylor s proposed functional organization was designed to promote efficiency and productivity of the individual worker, whereas the unified command system and scalar organization of governmental administration placed greater emphasis on responsibility to the citizenry through information and the electoral process Simplicity of organization would presumably promote efficiency but more importantly, it would promote citizen understanding control

[1] On the other hand, the works of Max Weber were not available to early American theorists[10] Weber emphasized behaviour in organizations and there fore, his works have served as a major source material of behavioural scientists

A third point of importance to an understanding of classical theory is the fact that later writers and teachers tended to translate structural concepts into codes of behaviour and administrators often emphasized their own au thority over subordinates rather than their responsibility to superiors Nothing in the hierarchical design would prevent an administrator from allowing sub ordinates to participate in decision making or from establishing a system of team management so long as final responsibility could be clearly traced to the electorate On the other hand none of the later models has faced squarely the issue of how to resolve conflicts between internal democracy of an organi zational subdivision and the social democracy of a larger community or the nation Classical administrative ideas were built on the premise of electoral supremacy over all personnel of the governmental bureaucracy

HOW DO YOU MANAGE AN ORGANIZATION ?

The human relations approach to organizational relationships did not focus on the creation or restructuring of organizations Rather, it started with the assumptions that an organization exists that its leadership seeks to fulfil certain objectives and the problem is one of getting people to perform the tasks assigned to them and to comply with decisions of the leadership This was primarily a business administration approach and it did not challenge the basic ideas of how to organize a formal system However it challenged the mechanistic performance techniques of Frederick Taylor and the efficiency experts Challenge to the time and motion advocates came largely for two reasons namely (1) that the ideas erroneously assumed a relatively static technological system and (2) that they assumed a perpetual surplus of workers ready to perform needed tasks Changing technology probably brought with

it more routinization of tasks than the efficiency experts had foreseen, and routinization produced boredom and other dissatisfactions At the same time unionization of workers reduced the freedom of management to hire and fire and World War II eliminated for a time any surplus of available personnel It may be significant therefore, that the human relations ideas did not gain wide spread attention until war time and the high employment era in America that followed the war

In business administration the advocates of a human relations approach accepted the existing organizational structure and its management[11] even to such extent that they have been charged with a management bias and advocacy of leadership by manipulation[12]

Concerns for human relations—or interrelations among personnel—was associated with the case method of teaching and research which tended to focus on particular problems and on individual personalities rather than on programmes and structures While the method was widely adopted in the teaching and study of public administration, politics often took priority over interpersonal relations[13]

Criticisms of the early doctrine as applied to government came largely from political scientists whose governmental experience in war time brought with it a new realization of the politics of bureaucracy and the impossibility of drawing clear lines between policy making and policy implementation Again however the criticisms were directed against a number of simplistic assumptions regarding administrative behaviour rather than against basic ideas of the administrative organization Emphasis was placed upon what is' rather than on "what ought to be and although descriptive studies led almost inevitable to advocacy the latter were largely negative—challenging definitions distinctions and principless instead of proposing new plans or new relationships Politics and policy making became a central concern of political scientists and their ideas became a branch of the behavioural science approach

HOW DO PEOPLE BEHAVE IN ORGANIZATIONS?

One of the primary criticisms of the human relations approach was that the case method did not lend itself to objective quantitative research Human relations writers had been saying in effect that while successful human relations may be classified as an art rather than a science organizational

leadership must rely upon the impact of interpersonal relations in their concern for productivity and cooperation [14] Behavioural scientists on the other hand, held that interpersonal and intergroup relations can be subjected to scientific analysis The technical possibilities provided by the newly developed computers encouraged and facilitated the use of statistical analysis for such studies

In their claim to scientific objectivity, the behavioural scientists tended to reject normative propositions and sought to define words and concepts in terms of observable behaviours as against the idea of rights and obligations They rejected the classic idea of "principles" and the politics administration dichotomy yet they often adopted new dichotomies and new categorical distinctions that facilitated the use of statistical methods [15] Very shortly they too became advocates—of personal 'self actualization, democratic leadership, and participative decision making for example [16]

The behavioural science approach brought sociologist and psychologists to the fore and reading materials for courses in public administration were drawn largely from those related fields The emphasis of both disciplines is on the question of how people behave and a concern for personal satisfaction often takes priority over questions of achieving predetermined objectives or of conserving the resources used in achieving those objectives While research was carried on in both public and private organizations, a tendency to accept the private organizations goal of survival was generally in evidence

One offshoot of the behavioural science approach emphasized the process of decision making Here the political scientists played a significant role among them being Herbert Simon[17] and Charles Lindblom [18]

Some of the more imaginative behavioural science writers predicted and advocated a reliance upon temporary organizations in which leadership, communications lines and task specialization would change to meet needs of specific programmes [19] Otherwise an emphasis was placed on attitudes and leadership styles rather than on formal structure

Behavioural science studies have had a significant impact on organizational structure inso far as the latter term relates to expected roles of participants and relationships among them Yet they have not provided new answers to the question of how to organize to carry out a set of complex programmes Even the temporary organizations' would be difficult to visualize in actual

operation except as subordinate units within the more permanent organizational structure

INFLUENCE OF THE ENVIRONMENT

The fourth question posed above is How does the environment influence an organization and how does the organization affect its environment? This is the central question of the systems theory approach although it may be raised also by the structural functionalists The approach holds that organizations change in order to adapt to the environmental needs and influences Some writers have referred to this approach as a converging of classical theory and the behavioural sciences [40] Certainly systems theories have brought back into focus many of the questions associated with classical theory

Yet systems theory does not lead to the advocacy of a particular form of organization The idea that organizational structure is adopted to environmental conditions sugge ts only that commissions or agencies established to recommend formal changes must consider the environment in which the organization will operate Thus a commission on reorganization would only ask "How should we organize governmental agencies to carry out a complex set of public policies and programmes *within the existing environment*? Here we may have an explanation of the repeated need for survey reports but we do not have an explanation of the consistency of recommendations made by survey commissions

OTHER APPROACHES

Other theoretical concepts might be considered including phenomenology the so-called 'new (now) public administration' and the currently popular area of policy analysis But none of these approaches provides answers to the basic question posed by traditional or classical organizational theory

Existentialism has been advanced primarily by psychological and philosophical studies and its impact on public administration has arisen largely from background questions relating to the nature of man and his perceptions of reality

Advocates of the 'new public administration were concerned primarily with the responsibilities of public officials rather than with the question of how

to organize to fulfil those responsibilities They often seemed to place priority on socal values of the writers as against the democratic concept of majority rule [21] While those social values are to be commended, the arguments could be those of a benevolent dictator Classical administrative theory placed first priority on the control of government by the electorate [22]

Policy analysis is in effect a new version of the earlier decision making studies, with emphasis on high level policy decisions [23] The studies are largely designed to assist legislative bodies and administrative advisers to legislative bodies and the focus on policies suggests a return to the distinction between politics and administration that characterized the works of Frank Goodnow and his followers in the early twentieth century The question that they seek to answer might be stated as ' What should the organization do? ' or ' How should the organization proceed to make its major decisions? ' These questions do not serve as significant challenges to other approaches to the study of administration

While the several schools of organization and management theory seek answers to different questions they are not unrelated All have contributed to a better understanding of public administration, and research focused on answers to one question certainly expands our knowledge of problems concern ed with other questions What is needed, therefore, is a realization of the fact that findings made through attempts to answer one question seldom invalidate answers to other questions The addition of new questions—with full reali zation of differences—may be of greater value than the apparent disagreements that answers to the different questions tend to generate

NOTES

1 Francis Coker Dogmas of Administrative Reform *American Political Science Review* XVI (1922) 399-411

2 Herbert Simon The Proverbs of Administration " *Public Administration Review* VI (Winter 1946) 53-67

3 Nicos Mouzelis *Organisation and Bureaucracy* (Chicago Aldine Press 1967) For more recent criticisms by advocates of the new public administration see Dwight Waldo

ed *Public Administration in a Time of Turbulence* (Scranton Pa Chandler 1971), especially chapter 14

4 A E B ck *Administrative Consolidation in State Governments* (New York National Municipal League 1919)

5 A remarkable characteristic of all of these American reports is the uniformity of basic recommendat ons Cf Stene Reorganization of Kansas State Government The Persistence of Classical Theory *Midwest Review of Public Administration* VII (Jan 1973) 26 28

The early l aders of the National Municipal League included such men as Woodrow Wilson (later President of the United States) Frank Goodnow (recognized as author of the politics-administration dichotomy) and Charles Beard (noted historian and political scientist)

7 W F Willoughby *Princ ples of Public Administration* (Washington, D C , 1927)

8 The American system of pres dential government was frequently compared with the British parliamentary system See also Frank Goodnow *Municipal Government and Ad ministr tion* (New York 1900) Analysis of different forms of gov rnment that developed in the early 20th century would also be interesting in this context

9 A E Buck *The R organizat on of State Government in the United States* (New York Columbia University Press 1938)

10 Note for example that the name of Max Weber does not appear in Herbert Simon s *Administrat ve Behavior* (1947) or in Dwight Waldo s *Administrative State* (1948)

11 Elton Mayo did not propose changes in organizational structure in his *The Human Prob lems f an Industrial Society* (Cambridge Mass Harvard University Press 1967) p 117

12 Mouzelis *Organization and Bureaucracy* p 117

13 Harold Stein ed *Public Administration and Policy Development* (New York Harcourt Brace 1952)

14 Classical theorists generally agreed with this contention but they held that a scientific approach to the study of how to organize could not include the art of leadership

15 Herbert Simon *Administrat ve Behavior* (New York Macmillan 1947) Ch III Douglas McGregor *The Human Side f Enterprise* (New York McGraw Hill 1960) and Rensis Likert *New Patterns of Management* (New York McGraw Hill 1961)

16 Cf Chris Argyris *U d standing O ganizatio al Behavior* (Homewood Ill Dorsey Press 1960 esp. Ch I

17 Simon *Administ ative Behavior* and James G March and Herbert Simon *O ganizations* (New York Wiley 1958) and several other works by Simon Simon who was awarded

Nobel Prize in 1978 for his work on decision-making now relates more to business research than to government.

18 Charles Lindblom The Science of Muddling Through *Public Administration Review* XIX (1959) 79-85

19 Warren Bennis and Philip Slater *The Temporary Society* (New York Harper 1964)

20 Mouzelis *Organization and Bureaucracy* Ch 7

21 Frank Marini ed *Towards a New Public Administration The Minnowbrook Perspective* (Scranton Pa Chandler, 1971)

22 Richard S Childs *Civic Victories* (New York Harper 1952) Ch XVII

23 Note reference to Charles Lindblom above and to his later publication *The Policy Making Process* (New Jersey : Prentice Hall 1968)

M Mushkat, Jr

Management Consultants and Bureaucrats Toward a Transactional Analysis*

The past two decades have witnessed a noticeable increase in the use of outside (whether from academe or private firms) expertise by public institutions Management consultants are now firmly entrenched in the bureaucratic milieu of most countries with a professionalized administrative infrastructure They have been largely responsible for the introduction of sophisticated decision making techniques such as Planning Programming Budgeting cost benefit analysis cost effectiveness analysis evaluation research technological forecasting management by objectives zero base budgeting, mathematical programming, network analysis simulation gaming and strategic information systems They have also played a significant part in experiments with new forms of bureaucratic organization (*e g* matrix organization) and in the propagation of the avant garde ideas of the human relations school (under the banner of organization development)

LIMITATIONS OF MANAGEMENT CONSULTANCY

The advice offered by outside experts has not always proved beneficial There are examples on record of misguided recommendations and results disproportionate to the sometimes heavy cost of obtaining the advice in the first place It is apparent that the contribution of management consultants to the smooth functioning of public institutions has not been invariably positive Be that as it may, the latter simply have to rely on a continuous transfer of management technology from the private sector and the experiences to the contrary notwithstanding there really is no *a priori* reason why under carefully

* Although this study was conducted when the author was heading the Task Force on Management Planning of the Broadcasting Corporation of New Zealand he alone bears the responsibility of the outcome

controlled circumstances such transfer should not be successful and in the public interest Indeed, the difficulties in the past have more often than not been due to a short circuit in the relationship between management consultants and their bureaucratic clients rather than to inappropriate technology

The consultants of course, have tended to lay the blame on the pathological resistance to change of the bureaucrats This may be diagnostically correct as well as understandable The author, for instance had recently had the opportunity to spend a year at the helm of a 'think tank' established (by a new chairman, himself an 'outsider') with a view to revamping the management systems of a large public corporation and had seen his mission quickly reduced from that of systems analysis in the broadest sense of the word to that of conducting exasperating political battles with operating managers wary of reforms of any conceivable shape Similar problems and on a similar scale, have been reported by scores of other disillusioned consultants The pattern seems universal and not confined to certain cultures organizations people or types of functional expertise

INTERACTION BETWEEN BUREAUCRAT AND CONSULTANT

The largely 'reactive' position however, into which consultants are usually manoeuvred is by no means inconsequential Bureaucratic hostility is far from uncontrollable it can be managed mismanaged, and even avoided By implication it is desirable to conceptualize the relationship between management consultants and bureaucrats in dyadic rather than monadic terms and proceed to analyze it accordingly Now perhaps the first to do so (at least for one kind of a consultant the operations researcher) were Churchman and Schainblatt[1] in their seminal article entitled The Researcher and the Manager Basically they have suggested a 2x2 matrix as a framework for considering the ongoing interactions between the two categories of role occupants in question The matrix is based on the premise that the dynamics of the relationship is determined by the *understanding or lack thereof of the consultant by the* bureaucrat and vice versa It thus depicts four kinds of situations (1) bureaucrat understands consultant—consultant understands bureaucrat (*mutual understanding*) (2) bureaucrat understands consultant—consultant does not understand bureaucrat (relationship characterized by *communication of what is the right selection*, with emphasis on *facts and explanation* by the consultant) (3) bureaucrat does not understand consultant—consultant understands bureaucrat (*consultant persuades bureaucrat because he understands his personality*) and (4) bureaucrat

does not under tand consultant—consultant does not understand bureaucrat (*statement of what is right by the consultant—take it or leave it separate function*) [2]

TABLE I

THE CHURCHMAN SCHAINBLATT DIALECTIC

	Management consultant understands bureaucrat	Management consultant does not understand bureaucrat
Bureaucrat understands management consultant	Mutual understanding	Commun cation of what is right facts and explanation
Bur aucrat does not understand management consultant	Management consultant persuades bureaucrat because he understands his personality	Statement of what is right—take it or leave it separate function

The Churchman Schainblatt formulation is useful in that it attaches great importance to the *mutual* understanding between the management consultant and the bureaucrat This is consistent with the recent trend toward relying on the *behavioural paradigm* in consultancy work (with the consultant receiving[3] *formal* feedback from the bureaucrat in his attempts at problem solving under the *evolutionary paradigm* he receives only *informal* feedback and under the *traditional paradigm* he receives *no* feedback at all) [4] Nonethele s, the 2x2 matrix is hardly more than a foundation to build upon In itself it does not provide sufficient insight into the complexities of the tangled relationship between consultants and bureaucrats A rather elaborate framework is required here and it is essential to venture further a field in search of one

The obvious target area would be conventional organization theory especially the part concerned with organizational communication It is con venient after all to think of the problems marring the relationship between management consultants and bureaucrats as the result of communication

failures Much to his own surprise though, the author has not found the various communication models as helpful as he had originally anticipated and he has come to the conclusion that the most suitable conceptual tool in this particular case would be *transactional analysis*, the least conventional element of the least conventional part of organization theory (organization development) [5] By extension, the aim of this article is *to employ that psychoanalytic construct with a view to shedding greater light on the nature of the interactions between consultants and bureaucrats*

TRANSACTIONAL ANALYSIS

Transactional analysis is already widely used in public institutions (and even more so in business and industry) It is relatively easy to apply to boot At the same time neither its underlying logic nor its general method are well known in academic public administration circles (this is one instance in which practitioners have outpaced their academic counterparts[1]) An exposition of the basic ideas, therefore seems appropriate Now according to the exponents of transactional analysis the human psyche (*i e*, the totality of our self or, in common parlance, personality) is actually *tripartite* Put another way, it consists of *exteropsyche neopsyche* and *archeopsyche* Each of these parts, in turn, manifests itself in a corresponding *ego-state exteropsychic neopsychic* and *archeopsychic*

The above sounds doubtless excessively esoteric Fortunately transactional analysis has provided colloquial expressions for the three ego-states in question *parent* (exteropsychic) *adult* (neopsychic), and *child* (archeopsychic) The explication of these ego-states is rather straightforward When people, such as management consultants and bureaucrats feel and act as their parents once did they are said to be in their parent ego state (Let us be quite clear on this point when someone is in a parent ego-state, he will be acting just as his father mother or any other significant older person in his early life did Not only will he speak as the parent did, he will also carry himself as the parent did In short he is acting automatically on the basis of an old tape) By con trast when people are thinking and acting rationally—gathering information, estimating probabilities and evaluating results—they are said to be in their adult ego-state Finally when people are feeling and acting as they did in childhood they are said to be in their child ego-state (Tables 2 and 3)

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE

TABLE 2
EGO STATES AND BEHAVIOUR

What the Parent Does	*What the Adult Do s*	*What the Ch ld Does*
Nurtures	Processes information	Invents
Criticizes	Takes objective action	Expresses curiosity
Restricts	Thinks then acts	Acts on impulse
Judges	Organizes	Acts selfi hly
Blames	Plans	Loves
Encourages	Solves problems	Imagines—brainstorms
Supports	Estimates risks	Acts belligerently
Source the relationship between you and your parents	Ferrets out assumptions	Complains
	Source the emergence in independent thinking in early life and its subse quent development	*S urce* th best and worst of your young self

Source C. Albano *Transactional Analysis on the Job* (New York Amacom 1974) p 7

TABLE 3
RECOGNIZING EGO STATES

	Body Language	*Expressions*	*Vocal To e*
Parent indicators	Looking down over rim of glasses pointing an accusing finger hands on hip the head leaning or straining forward patting on the back	You should You ought You must Why don t you Stay loose Be cool Don t tell me You disappoint me You always Poor thing , I ll protect you	Harsh judgmental sooth ng ind gnant commanding comforting
Adult indicators	A straight relaxed stance slightly tilted head appearance of active l stening regular eye contact confident appearance	They offer alternatives and options use of the 5 Ws in questioning Aha I see I see your point I recog nize .. How do you feel about	Relax d as ertive somewhat delibe at ive s If asserti e
Child ind cators	Forlorn appearance drooping shoulders withdrawal pursed lips scowling skipping hugging twinkle in eyes	I want I wish Wow I should If only Did I do okay One of these days It s not fair It is not my fault "Oh boy!	Appealing complain ing nagging indig nant ch rful protesting grumbl ing mumbl ng

Source C. Albano *op cit.* p 8

Another key term in the vocabulary of transactional analysis is, appropriately enough, *transaction* Transaction is the unit of social intercourse Thus if two or more people encounter each other in a social aggregation sooner or later one of them will speak or give some indication of acknowledging the presence of the others This is referred to as *transactional stimulus* Another person will then say or do something which is in some way related to this stimulus, and that is referred to as *transactional response* Simple transactional analysis is concerned with diagnosing which ego-state implemented the transactional stimulus, and which one executed the transactional response The simplest transactions are those in which both stimulus and response arise from the 'adults of the parties concerned The agent estimating from the data before him that a scalpel is now the instrument of choice holds out his hand The respondent appraises this gesture correctly estimates the forces and distances involved, and places the handle of the scalpel exactly where the surgeon *expects it* *Next in simplicity are "child parent transactions* 'The *fevered* child asks for a glass of water and the nurturing mother duly provides it '

Both these transactions are *complementary* that is the response is appropriate and expected and follows the natural order of healthy human relationships The first is classified as *complementary transaction type 1* (Figure 1A) and the second as *complementary transcation type 2* (Figure 1B) It is evident however, that transactions tend to proceed in chains, so that each response is in turn a stimulus

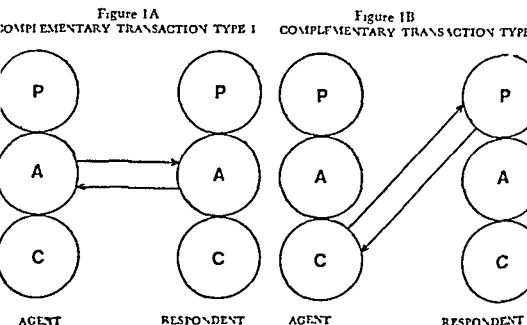


Figure 1A
OMPLEMENTARY TRANSACTION TYPE 1

Figure 1B
COMPLEMENTARY TRANSACTION TYPE

The basic rule of transactional analysis is that communication will proceed smoothly as long as transactions are complementary, and the corollary is that as long as transactions are complementary, communication can in principle proceed indefinitely These rules are independent of the nature and content of the transactions, they are based entirely on the direction of the vectors involved As long as the transactions are complementary it is irrelevant to the rule whether two people are engaging in critical gossip ('parent parent) solving a problem (adult adult'), or playing together (' child child ' or parent child)

The converse rule is that communication is broken off when a *crossed transaction* occurs The most common crossed transaction and the one which has always caused most of the social difficulties in the world is classified as *crossed transaction type 1* (Figure 2A) This type of transaction is the principal concern of psychotherapists and is typified by the classical transference reaction of psychoanalysis The stimulus is ' adult adult *e g* , ' Perhaps we should find out why you have been drinking more lately ' or Do you know where cuff links are? ' The appropriate adult response in each case would be 'Perhaps we should I would certainly like to know or On the desk '' If the respondent flares up, though, the responses will be something like You are always criticizing me just like my father did or You always blame me for every thing ' These are both child parent responses and as the transactional diagram shows the vectors cross In such cases the adult problems about drinking or cuff links must be suspended until the vectors can be realigned This may take anywhere from several months in the drinking example to a few seconds in the case of the cuff links Either the agent must become 'parental, as a complement to the respondent s suddenly activated child or the respondent s adult' must be activated as a complement to the agent's adult The converse of crossed transaction type 1 is classified as *crossed transaction type 2* (Figure 2B) This is the counter transference reaction familiar to psychotherapists in which the patient makes an objective ' adult observation and the therapist crosses the vectors by responding like a parent talking to a child (In everyday life, Do you know where my cuff links are may elicit Why don t you keep track of your own things? You are not a child any more)

In all nine vectors of social action between an agent and a respondent are possible forming a large number of either complementary or crossed transactions (It should be noted in this connection that transactions often involve hidden messages between ego states that are different from the surface or apparent ones In the following example for instance the secretary s boss is

Figure 2A

CROSSED TRANSACTION TYPE 1

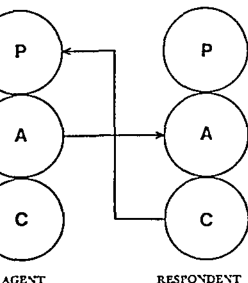
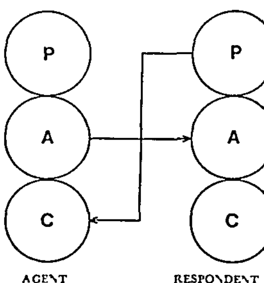


Figure 2B

CROSSED TRANSACTION TYPE 2



referring to a memo that the secretary has already had to retype twice *Boss* "That's the third draft It doesn t have to be letter perfect *Secretary* I'm finishing it up now At first glance this would seem to be an adult adult transaction Indeed, at the surface level it is At the hidden level however it is a parent child confrontation as the secretary and her boss know very well because they know each other very well In fact, at that level the transaction goes like this *Boss* I ll have to settle for your third draft even if it is messy Your carelessness is holding everything up *Secretary* Here s your old draft I m tired of being picked on for erasures and minor errors') The logic of transactional analysis can be extended to explore how interpersonal relationships may develop over time and assume forms such as withdrawal rituals pastimes activities games intimacy or the like [7] It can also be employed even without further research to provide greater insight into the nature of the interactions between management consultants and bureaucrats

APPLYING TRANSACTIONAL ANALYSIS TO THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MANAGEMENT CONSULTANTS AND BUREAUCRATS

The application of transactional analysis to the problem in hand calls for an extensive data collection effort The specific research method that appears the

most suitable for tackling it systematically is the *personal diary*[8]—a method that does not leave room for any shortcuts[9] In other words, for constructing an elaborate system of generalizations it would be necessary to rely here on diaries in which management consultants recorded (hopefully with the requisite detachment) their "transactions with bureaucrats (personal diaries have proved to be a useful source of information in the study of various social phenomena a recent case in point is the work of Douglas and Jacobs on the subject of the suicide)[10] Indeed what follows is an attempt to picture the relationship between consultants and bureaucrats in terms of transactional analysis on the basis of information extracted from such a diary The diary is a single one and transactional analysis does not figure in it in any direct form (rather it is applied *ex post facto*) This notwithstanding it, permits us to make the first steps (which are usually the most important) on the tortuous way to explaining why the joint efforts of consultants and bureaucrats result so often in deadlock

The material in the diary lends itself easily to transactional analysis In retrospect the substantive exchanges between the author and his consulting team and their bureaucratic counterparts seem to have fallen into a clear pattern Four types of transactions recur throughout with a frequency that leaves no doubt as to their significance The one that is both the most common and most problematic happens to be a crossed transaction in which *each of the parties assumes the parent posture while negatively seeking to correct what is perceived as the child state of the other* (the consultant s ' parent is a product of his academic training and he views the bureaucrat as conceptually *naive* and *child like* in believing that organizational problem solving cannot be treated as an intellec tual exercise the bureaucrat s ' parent on the other hand is a product of his management development and he views the consultant as managerially *naive* and *child like* in believing that academic concepts can be successfully applied to organizational problem solving) The transaction is a sure recipe for dismal failure in consultancy work

Another transaction which appears to be quite common belongs to a category that we have encountered earlier This is crossed transaction type 2 Here *one of the parties (usually the consultant) acts in an adult adult fashion only to be rebuffed by parent child responses of the kind described above* The chances of success in cousultancy work under such circumstances are also slender As a matter of fact the evidence before us suggests that in cases like this no tangible progress can be made unless the party inclined toward adult adult exchanges

stubbornly persists in its original attitude despite the continuous snubbing by the other party Nothing but a very long string of "adult adult' stimuli and responses would be likely to induce the latter to uncross the vectors and join the former in adult like efforts to keep the organization firmly on target

The two transactions discussed so far are "crossed To all appearances they account for the bulk of communication problems between management consultants and bureaucrats The third transaction identified with reasonable frequency is a ' complementary one So is the fourth transaction Both like the previous transaction, belong to categories that have been outlined earlier The third transaction corresponds to complementary transaction type 2 and the fourth corresponds to complementary transaction type 1 Put another way, the former *entails "parent child relationship whereas the latter entails 'adult adult relationship* The third transaction tends to be a product of a situation in which a relatively experienced consultant faces a relatively inexperienced bureaucrat or vice versa The relatively experienced party then naturally takes upon itself the 'parent role while the relatively inexperienced party is only too content to oblige by playing the child This transaction being a complementary one [11] poses no communication problems of any substance Nonetheless our data indicate that the organizational problem solving that evolves from it is of a rather limited value and that the satisfactory working relationship in itself does not guarantee truly viable solutions to the questions which arise in the course of the assignment

The fourth transaction pinpointed is in all likelihood the least common in the set By definition *it takes place when the ' adult in both parties is allowed to assume charge and a candid gamefree relationship develops* This in the vernacular may eventually lead to ' intimacy with the management consultant and bureaucrat becoming interlocked in the I m O K —You re O K position (there seems to be no simple way to define intimacy, yet it is possible to point to those conditions which are most favourable for its appearance the absence of games the emancipation of the Adult and the commitment to the position I m O K —You re O K)[12] Contrary to complementary transaction type 2 complementary transaction type 1 is conducive to high quality organizational problem solving as well as smooth communication In point of fact only upon approaching this idealized or utopian state can the consultant achieve the objectives of his work

The implication of the above presumably is that in the interest of successfully accomplishing their mission management consultants should, in so far as

possible try (1) *to keep the lines of communication open by conducting complementary transactions* and (2) *to steer the relationship toward adult adult' transactions 'inti macy ' and the I m O K —You re O K position* As pointed out, the persistent use of the adult encourages the other party to do likewise When this occurs communication is not only open but productive to boot Although there is a possibility that this may stop communication altogether (crossed transaction type 1 or 2) it is likely to pay off if the adult is used consistently and over an extended period of time To be sure the success of consultancy work hinges on additional factors (there are usually more than two parties and values and objectives as well as ego-states) Transactional analysis though focuses attention on variables that seem to play a critical part in the micro-context of the relationship It offers a unique perspective for devising behavioural strategies that hold the promise of breaking the deadlock

NOTES

1 C W Churchman and A L Schainblatt The Researcher and the Manager *Management Science* XI (February 1965) 869 887

2 With the bureaucrat and consultant functioning so to speak on two separate planes

3 As well as seek ng

4 See in this connection R L Schultz and D P Slevin A Programme of Research on Implementation in *Implementi g Operations Research/Manag ment Scie ce* ed by R L Schultz and D P Slevin (New Yo k Elsevier 1975) pp 31 51

5 On the relevance of organization de elopment in public administration s e R A Zawacki and D D Warrick eds *Organiz tio D l pment* (Chicago Inte national Personnel Management Association 1976) R T Golembiewski *Publ c Admi ist at o as a Devel p ng Discipline* (New York Dekker 1977)

6 I part cular see E B rne *Gam s People Play* (New York Grove Press 1964) E Bern *Transactional Analysis in Psychotherapy* (New York Ballantine 1973) T A Harris *I m O K You re O K* (New York Avon 1973) J Meininger *Suc ess through T ansa t onal An ly s* (New York Grosset and Dunlap 1973) C Albano *Transactional Analysis on the J b* (N w York Amacom 1974) and M James *Th O K Boss* (Reading Mass Addison We l y 1975)

7 See in this connection B rne *Gam s P ople Pl y* Harris *I m O K —You e O K*

8 See in this connection G W Allport *The Use of Personal Documents in Psychological Research* (New York Social Science Research Council 1942)

9 Ideally it would be desirable to have a pre-coded scheme (such as the Interaction Process Analysis coding scheme of Bales or the Behavior System coding scheme of Borgatta) that would enable the use of a sophisticated recording device of one sort or another (*e g.*, the Minnesota Interaction Data Coding and Reduction System) Be that as it may such scheme is simply not available See in this connection R.F Bales *Interaction Process Analysis* (Cambridge Mass Addison Wesley 1950) E F Borgatta Interaction Process Scores *Genetic Psychology Monographs* LXV (May 1962) 269-290 and R E Sykes Systematic Observation Utilizing the Minnesota Interaction Data Coding and Reduction System" *Behavioral Science* XIV (March 1969) 167 169

10 J D Douglas *The Social Meaning of Suicide* (Princeton N Y Princeton University Press 1967) and J Jacobs A Phenomenological Study of Suicide Notes *Social Problems*, XV (Summer 1967) 60-72

11 We see the crossed transaction as the main cause for the difficulties in the relationship between management consultants and bureaucrats Nevertheless we are about to argue that the complementary transaction is a necessary but not sufficient condition for success" in consultancy work

12 See in this connection Harris *I'm O K —You're O K* p 125 Basically there are two ways we can feel about other people and ourselves—O K or Not O K ' See in this connection Albano, *op cit* p 19

A K Sinha

The Political Factor in Public Administration in Developing Countries

In the last few decades as new regimes have emerged in many developing countries of Asia and Africa one of the important developments has been the active role and a resultant distrust, of the bureaucracy in politics With increasing confirmation of political alignments of civil servants with the various regimes parties or individuals in power successive political regimes have been engaged in hunting out officers whose loyalty to the current ruling elite appears to be in question In some of the countries the traditional administrative structures have been shaken to shed the legacy of the past Even where this has not happened with too many cases of quiet acquiescence of wilful negligence and of partisan attitudes, the distrust of the bureaucracy has been obvious in the new dispensation The political factor seems to have gained a predominant place in the total public administrative system

The concept of political neutrality of bureaucracy in the management of public affairs was highlighted by Max Weber who while attempting to distinguish between the respective roles of the political executive and the bureaucracy, stressed the norm of impersonality and consequential political impartiality on the latter[1] In spite of the fact that this characteristic was only a part of Weber s ideal typical model and that the empirical studies have disproved the existence of a clear dichotomy between politics and administration there has been a great stress in the western models of bureaucracy on the inculcation in an administrator of the virtue of impartiality and in his public capacity, a mind untinged by political profession[2]

The basic planks of this political impartiality are

(a) public confidence in the bureaucracy based on the belief that it functions without any political bias

(b) political executive s confidence to seek advice from bureaucracy, and

(c) bureaucratic morale to work fearlessly, based on confide ce that political origins do not bring promotions and rewards

The Afro-Asian countries, following the British principles of public governance and the Weberian model traditionally upheld the non-committal efficiency of the civil servant The rule of law was more important than the will of persons and objectivity and political impartiality were more prized than quick successes which might accrue from a subjectivity in decision-making In addition there were other factors much more powerful than politics that predominated the bureaucratic conduct Morroe Berger in the late fifties, found that the Egyptian civil servant was far away from the political platform and was suffering from too much subservience to the man on the next administrative rung"[3] Ralph Braibanti found in Pakistan that caste and clan were far stronger motivating factors in public administration than party affiliations and Donald Kingsley found in Nigeria that religions and tribes had a definite edge over the political parties in motivating bureaucracy[4] In India the British influence was considerably visible on the members of the Indian Civil Service and even down the line, exceptions of the few converts to the freedom movement notwithstanding Thus basically public administration in the Afro-Asian nations was status quo oriented with a bureaucracy committed to power of the government and attempting to preserve the authority of the state

With the acceleration of the independence movements all around in the fifties and sixties and the desire to achieve a political identity the traditional bureaucracies tended to actively participate in the process of emergence of independent states Thus the transitional societies soon found the traditionally acquiescent bureaucracy ready to participate in the battle for and enjoy the fruits of governmental power In the consequent struggle for power the *transformation of supposedly apolitical bureaucracy took place quite fast and* this politicalisation various forms'

Let us examine the phenomenon of bureaucratic involvement in politics the forms it assumes its mechanics and dynamics by analysing the emerging situations in the transitional Afro-Asian societies

Looking at the post independence movements in India, Uganda and Ghana the post revolution movements in Iran Burma and Bangladesh and

post political upheavals in Sri Lanka and Pakistan one finds up-dated version of the spoils system gaining ground, with the spoils of office being distributed largely among the permanent bureaucrats having particular political or personal leanings There is enough evidence to suggest that the political view seems to be more important than the fear of judicial review and the attributes of neutrality and impartiality seem to have acquired new interpretations through the political kaleidoscope There is a definitive trend towards the politicization of bureaucracy all along the line at the top the intermediate and grass roots levels

POLICY MAKING AT THE TOP LEVEL

At the top level policy making is the prime function of the political executive The bureaucracy may and indeed often does participate in the policy deliberations, but the final decisions have to be of the political executive With the growing demand for faster socio economic development, and the popular pressures for efficiency the emerging political executive cannot afford to depend on the conventional wisdom of bureaucracy to guide and advise it but has to seek the advice of non bureaucratic sections of society as well However, the desire for legitimization of authority and the craving for administrative propriety requires that the bureaucratic advice buttress the political decisions [5]

Hence the politicians prefer creating teams of administrators with favourable political leanings and even personal loyalties The top posts are distributed to this new team which not only ensures the combination of administrative competence and experience with politically acceptable viewpoints but also effects a greater degree of mutual trust between the new political masters and their immediate advisers Thus it helps in the presentation of policy alternatives in a light that can be said to have political acumen as well as administrative wisdom When power is acquired through politics decisions have to be weighed from the political angle In countries where revolutions violent or silent have brought about changes in governments presentation of policy alternatives assumes crucial importance

It is interesting to note that as a new team takes over there is a deliberate promotion of pressure sub systems to keep a watch on the negligent and the recalcitrant These groups comprise largely the political party forums and functionaries The purpose is not merely to keep the pressure on the political front but also to ensure that policies are formulated and measures taken in tune with the imperatives of political survival

And the third measure taken is to replace the existing system of rewards and punishments based on records of merit and efficiency by one based on commitment and loyalty Bureaucrats cannot be expected to act as willing partners in the process of political change if such change does not promise to be one for their betterment' Those that are already on top yearn to protect their chairs as much as those below wanting to occupy them A politically motivated carrot and stick policy is thus initiated and instituted in the system But there is generally a subtlety in this dispensation and action is often justified largely on administrative considerations

There is, in short, a three pronged drive at politicization at this level namely, the selection of a new team the formation of pressure groups and the institution of a new system of rewards and punishments And all this takes place generally with the willing connivance or acquiescence of a select segment of bureaucracy itself The motivations of these bureaucrats may be different ranging from apathetic passivity to a lust for power but the objective is the same—power through alignment

The net result of this systematic politicization is that the key posts and areas of public administration get political colour and bias And in this process there is a definitive trend towards commitment not only to parties but to the personalities too Sometimes there is a demand from the political circles that the top bureaucratic posts be manned by the cadres of the ruling party [6] La Palombara has observed in this context that in such

> [T]ransitional situation dominated by personal charisma public administration would be in the hands of a great leader—of a Diem or Nkrumah —and of those who are chosen members of his entourage Administrators would be evaluated on the basis of the extent of their fierce personal loyalty to the great leader, and rewards would also be closely tied to loyalty and the leader s favour [7]

There are a number of factors responsible for politicization of bureaucracy at the top level The first is the structural vacuum as in Iran, that is felt by the transfer of power in transitional societies and the attempt by established bureaucracy to fill this power vacuum In areas where ' the only sector of the political system that is reasonably cohesive and coherent and able to exercise leadership and power is bureaucracy political parties tend to be often ' passive instrumentalities of public administrators as La Palombara remarks,

or 'the political function tends to be appropriated in considerable measure by bureaucrats as has been observed by Riggs Another reason is the attempt of the emerging political leadership to control the established administrative structure through ambitious non established administrators ready to please and appease the new political leadership A third reason is the crisis of confidence and conscience that often overtakes the establishment in periods of transition There is a lesser inclination in the top echelons to fight for a cause that may soon be lost and that may invite trouble, and a greater desire to play safe Anticipation of desires and offering of advice that may be acceptable thus takes place at the cost of propriety and merit And a fourth one is the lure of quick gains in the bargain When sy tems are in a state of transition, opportunities for accelerated and out of turn advancements arise Ambitious young people and sometimes old people too, try to take advantage of the situation Whatever be the reason the idea of prudential neutrality' advocated by Morstein Marx, and the Weberian model of dichotomous relationship became casualties as societies launch themselves into the transitional stage of development

And then two things are likely to happen Either with the rapport established between the administration and the political executive, the former exercises more powers than it theoretically can or there is a greater decentralization of powers in the top political echelons In the first case extra administrative centres of power may emerge as did in India and Iran, whereas in the second case the policy making process may often become a nominal process devoid of its rigorous rationality as has happened in Pakistan In some of the countries both the trends have been visible simultaneously

CONTROL AND COORDINATION AT INTERMEDIATE LEVELS

The politicization of the bureaucratic set up at the intermediate stage is much more direct and much less subtle than at the policy making levels The basic strategy however remains the same that is the selection of a politically pliable team and capturing of the important posts and positions Since a large number of committed bureaucrats may not be readily available the attempt is to place them in 'safe hands The policy having been laid down the job of public management becomes easier though in the day to-day functioning personal preferences and prejudices may bring in conflicting interests that require to be resolved With a safe team however control by and large is effected not

transitional societies? And second, is this phenomenon a distinguishing feature of developing societies alone?

Regarding the first issue it may be mentioned that there are a number of circumstances that help in the expanding horizons of the political factor in transitional societies The political factor fills the value vacuum created by the march of materialism in the newly emerging societies it attempts to fill the void in the social value system created by the crumbling traditional social structure It also endeavours to help replace traditional leadership with emerging political leadership irrespective of the fact whether it was too weak or too strong For either way, bureaucracy aligns itself with one group or the other in order to preserve its power position It promises rewards of power and riches to willing upstarts and it attempts to satisfy their craving for recognition and power Concomitantly it creates a fear psychosis and threatens punishment for violating political codes and it provides an avenue for redressal of grievances in a system of governance that has become corrupt and lethargic Finally it offers a new order and a new hope both for the people and the bureaucracy for the realization of their aspirations of self governance In this socio-political transition wherein economic transformation also takes place individual self interest more than anything else dictates the need for a political stance in preference to neutrality

Regarding the second question there seems enough evidence to suggest that politicization is not confined to transitional conditions and is also a part of bureaucratic life in the developed societies though there may be differences in degree of such politicization in different cultures As Harlam Cleveland has noted in the American context

> How on earth can a senior government official avoid emotional attachment to the politics of any administration A senior civil service that took literally what the Hoover Commission has said about political neutrality would be a pool of eunuchs a special breed of Americans who stay out of trouble by staying out of sight No political executive in his right mind would want them assigned to his office [8]

Further William Boyer has observed

> [T]hen the administrator must interpret statutes with an eye toward legislative intent often juggle with contending political and private interests in the arena of the committee hearing and sensitize his decision making

to the wishes and predilections of Committee Chairmen primarily and legislators generally [9]

Leadership indeed is a great catalyst to the transformation of an apolitical public administration to one that is alive and committed politico-ideologically

In the U K in spite of the traditionally accepted concept of political neutrality and a well established system of public administration changes in the political system are often reflected in changes in the top echelons of bureaucracy But unlike the transitional societies these changes in the British administrative system are not striking The ethics of citizenship behaviour helps to keep limits on the bureaucratic politicization

In socialist countries the concept of political neutrality has from the beginning been an anathema, for the public administration in the nature of the structural arrangement was expected to reflect the political ideology of the socialist state ' The war caused bureaucratic collapse cleared the ground for a short lived florescence of free politics followed by the triumph of a mono cratic party [10] The single party system deriving its strength from the Marxian philosophy tamed the bureaucracy to become politically committed to the party ideology and have a political orientation and a political bias Politics and administration in such countries are thus virtually inseparable

The presence of the political factor in public administration in the traditional transitional and developed societies is thus established though it operates in diverse ways In the traditional societies, where there is an estab lished rule and a stabilized system of administration public administration works as an instrument of state authority It also acts as the saviour and sustainer of traditional social values and class structure and provides socio poli tical leadership

In the transitional societies where both the socio political and the economic systems are in transition and under great stress of change political leadership produces noticeable changes in public administration With the threat of destruction of an established system and the danger of value void bureaucracy with its generally predominant socio-economic status and access to seats of political power tries to remain on the right side of the ruling elite

In the developed societies there is a trend towards maturity in political decision making and with greater socio-economic independence of the individual

ideology seems to play a more prominent role in shaping the political views of the administrator The expression of political views, however may not be quite forthright, partly due to apathy and partly due to fear of sanctions However, it is clear that in socialist societies the pattern of politicization of the bureaucracy becomes more uniform and institutionalized but in the democratic countries the nature and extent of such politicization is affected by a diversity of socio-political and ideological factors

CONCLUSION

The foregoing analysis presents a number of conclusions important for the discipline of public administration It is well established that politicization of public administration is inherent in any society but its impact is almost total in transitional societies eclipsing the traditional concepts of political neutrality and administrative impartiality In developing countries, whether arising out of a peaceful transfer of power or violent upheaval, the power of bureaucracy is proportionate to the political support it receives and the power of a bureaucrat has to be seen in terms of the political" influence he commands

Importantly the political factor, with all its distrust developed against the established public administration system generally stops short of complete replacement of the system This is mainly because of non availability of viable alternatives as also on account of the growing realization that politics and administration are different arts and that rules of politics do not govern administration There is therefore an attempt to replace and substitute personalities but without any efforts to radically alter the basic structure of the system

The political party in power wherever a multi-party system takes roots is not necessarily the only political segment having an impact on the administration There are often equally strong counter political forces and political instability imparts a momentum to the process of politicization rather than preventing it The political factor also operates indirectly through pressure system The pressure application is both an individual as well as a group exercise but there is a growing tendency towards the former with individuals possessing charismatic qualities influencing the members of administrative class Interestingly a strong political leadership acts as a catalyst for rather than an insulation against politicization

Significantly the political factor does not operate in an administrative vacuum nor over reluctant bureaucrats. Exceptions notwithstanding both

politicians and administrators are willing partners in this change of emphasis and attitudes A willing bureaucracy often precedes political intervention And in this process of the emergence of politics administration axis rationality becomes subservient to political expediency in the decision making process

These conclusions are of far reaching importance As politics becomes a subject of greater public participation perhaps there is an increasing need to remove the artificial constraints on bureaucracy and the demand to allow it the political freedom which may not only legitimize politics in public administration but also make its accumulated wisdom available for politics There is thus a need to have a complete rethinking on the usefulness of the Weberian model of dichotomous mutually exclusive relationship between the representatives of the people and the members of the administrative class

NOTES

1 M x Weber *Essays in Sociology* ed and trans by H H Gerth and C Wright Mills (London Routledge & Kegan Paul 1957)

2 Se Masterman Committee quoted by S Lall Civil Service Neutrality *Indian Journal of Publ c Administration* IX (Jan Mar 1958) p 1 13

3 *Bu auc cy a d Society in Mod n Egypt* (Princeton N J Princeton University Pre s 1957) p 166

4 Joseph L Palombara ed *Bureaucracy and Political Devel pment* (Princeton N J Princeton University Press 1973)

5 Ramesh K Arora Bureaucracy and Development Themes and Variations in A Av sthi and Arora eds *Bure ucr cy and D v lopment Indian Pe spectives* (New Delhi Asso c ated Publishing House 1978)

6 See G K Prasad *Bu eaucracy in India* (New Delhi Sterl ng Publishers 1974) preface

7 B reaucracy and Political Development Notes Queries and Dilemmas in Palomba a *Bureaucracy and Political Developme t* p 49

8 A Avasthi Role of Public Service in Development in Avas hi and Arora *Bureaucracy and Developme t I d an P rspect ves* xxi

9 *Bureaucr cy on Trial* (New Yo k Bobbs-Merrill Co 1964) p 46

10 Fred W Riggs Bureaucrats and Political D velopment A Paradoxical View n Palombara *Bureaucracy and Political Devel pment* p 127

B P Singh and
Awadhesh Prasad

Development Administration Under Stress The Bihar Experience

The institution of district officer combines the tradition of age old territorial administration in India with the legacy of British institution building In the heyday of British imperialism it came to be adopted as a model for field administration in the colonies of Asia and Africa and was therefore identified with a system of field administration particularly suited to colonial regimes In India since independence efforts have been made to adapt this office with a view to meet the needs of planned development and social change in a democratic framework Numerous demands made on the administration in the wake of launching of ambitious socio-economic programmes and a well designed exercise in democratic decentralization called for structural and operational changes in this office With the institutionalization of the scheme of democratic decentralization popularly known as panchayati raj and the taking away of the development functions from the district officer as a consequence of the scheme of separating them from the revenue functions the district administration underwent a major structural change It cut at the very roots of the century-old concept of unified district administration But the experiment did not last long and had to be given up during the 'internal emergency (1975 77) to ensure an overall control of the district officer over the whole gamut of government activities in the district The Government of Bihar was directed from time to time, during this period to take measures to so strengthen this office as to make it pre-eminent in the district as it once used to be This restored to the district officer his traditional role of a government agent and an area specialist Once again the Campbellian concept of integrated field administration with the district officer as its real head was recognized as the predominant administrative ideology

This paper is designed to analyze the structural changes brought about in the district administration in Bihar and to examine the circumstances which led to the restoration of the traditional role of the district officer in his area

COLLECTOR AS THE NODAL ADMINISTRATIVE POINT

In pre-independent India the government made the district officer a nodal administrative unit invested with adequate authority to represent the total government at the district level Even though the sphere of state activities grew at the turn of this century beyond the collection of land revenue and maintenance of law and order, and despite a proliferation of development agencies no conscious effort was made to integrate the various departments into one primary agency Also, the district officer had no formal administrative control over the officers of different departments Notwithstanding these limitations his special position enabled the district officer to exercise informal control over district agencies and thus act as a focal point in district administration Likewise even though the local bodies ceased to be a part of local administration and these became parallel authorities as a consequence of the introduction of dyarchy in the provinces in practice, these local bodies functioned as an appendage to the tradition bound authority of the Collector who controlled them from within rather than from without [1]

CHALLENGE TO THE INTEGRATIVE ROLE

The prestige of the district officer on the eve of and immediately after independence was too big an asset not to be drawn upon However his none too clear formal position in the district in relation to the different departments and local bodies made its consequences felt and called upon the planners to give a serious rethinking to the role and status of this office Already the district officer s position vis a vis the technical services had undergone some changes from what it had been in the pre independence days Some of the technical services had by now built up hierarchies which could rival the traditional pattern of revenue administration The feeling of departmental patriotism on the part of the district technical officers was rampant and the district officer found himself in the unenviable position of having a new responsibility without effective means to shoulder it [2] Strains developed in the administration and there was blurring of responsibilities With the expansion of the rural development activities new departments were created in a fragmented manner [3] As a result there was no orchestration worth the name between the activities of the field staff of any two departments they functioned without a sense of common objective [4]

THE NEED FOR COORDINATING DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

The launching of community development (CD) programme and national extension service necessitated the creation of an administrative organization

which could work with unity of purpose and approach To create a new administrative organization to carry out the CD programme exclusively required considerable time and financial resources From the point of view of administrative coordination, it made the situation even more acute In conformity with the policy of the Community Project Administration to transform the existing administrative services into development services and not to create new separate Department of Development [5] the Grow More Food Enquiry Committee recommended that the 'development activities should be unified under Collector as extension officer assisted by the specialist officers' [6] The reorganizational idea spelled out by the Planning Commission laid special stress on 'strengthening and improvement of the machinery of general administration integrating the activities of various departments in the district and creating a common extension organization [7] It impressed upon the States to continue the position of the Collector as head of the district with the district officers of the development departments working with him as part of a team The suggested administrative set up was in keeping with the administrative traditions of recognizing the district officer as the principal representative and as the natural leader of the official team at the district level [8]

Initially however the district officer remained out of the line of development administration The CPA, inaugurated in October 1952, was not an organic part of the normal administrative machinery in the beginning and the community development area was virtually island in the existing administration"[9] The Project Executive Officer had to work directly under the control of the Development Commissioner of the State As the programme expanded rapidly and NES blocks were created in a larger number, the Development Commissioner began to face the difficulty of exercising proper supervision and control and of ensuring supplies and flow of the technical assistance to the field workers Above all for an integrated programme of development of rural areas coordination of the different departments at the State level only through Development Commissioner was not enough It was equally important to ensure effective coordination at the district and sub-division levels Thus the district officer was made responsible for coordination which till then had been exercised by the Development Commissioner at the State level [10] And by the year 1955 the district officer was well on the way to becoming the principal developmen and welfare officer of the district [11]

DISINTEGRATED DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION UNDER PANCHAYATI RAJ

The institutionalization of the scheme of democratic decentralization called for a major reorganization of the district administration The Balwantrai Mehta

Study Team had recommended that the district officer would be the chairman of the zila parishad, the district level tier of panchayati raj (PR) and one of his officers would be its secretary [12] But for a long time the opinion in different States remained undecided as to the place of the district officer in the PR set up The official stand varied from involving him more intimately with these institutions to keeping the district officer out of the PR [13] At the same time the States were left free to experiment with any other organization in this regard Naturally the way the district officer is connected with the PR system in different States is not uniform

VARIETY OF SYSTEMS

The PR system in India has been characterised by structural heterogeneity In the first place there are southern States such as Andhra Pradesh Karnataka and Tamil Nadu where the Collector is fully involved in the panchayati raj system On the other extreme is the case of Maharashtra Gujarat and West Bengal where the district officers have been kept out of the three-tier institutions while other senior offi ers have been appointed as Chief Executive Officers to execute the development programmes [14] Between these two extremes is a State such as Bihar where a junior officer has been posted as Chief Executive Officer or Secretary of the zila parishad In such States the district officer s link with the PR system has been maintained only to coordinate and supervise the work of the subject matter specialists and to report periodically about the activities of the PR bodies much in the same manner in which the Collector acted for municipalities

In the State of Bihar,[15] till June 1972, the district officer had been virtually kept out of the zila parishad as he had little effective power to control and supervise the PR bodies He possessed powers to in pect immov able property institutions records and works in progress under the parishad and cancel the resolutions passed by the PR bodies As he acted as the chief executive of the district administration and as a captain of the team of the officials of different departments the district officer was expected to coordinate and supervise the development activities The District Development Officer (DDO) an officer of the rank of Additional District Magistrate drawn from the Revenue Department acted as the secretary of the parishad [16] He func tioned under the dual administrative control of the Collector and the *Adhyaksha* of the parishad

LIMITATIONS OF THE UNINTEGRATED SYSTEM

This ambiguous system of integration of general administration and rural development activities and of assigning the Collector the tasks of coordinat on

and reporting while keeping him out of the parishad could not succeed in fair measure Being responsible for onerous duties relating to revenue, land management, law and order and several other functional areas the Collector could not do justice to the needs of the PR set up He was armed with the power of doing anything ' to remove difficulties arising in giving effect to the provisions of the Act and rendering all reasonable assistance [17] to the PRIs But owing partly to the fact that he was out of the parishad and partly to his involvement in the performance of arduous tasks the Collector could hardly do much to make PR a success While fixing priority to his various works he usually gave higher priority to the maintenance of law and order, conduct of elections census, supply of essential commodities recovery of loans and collection of rent etc thus relegating development activities to the background [18]

Likewise the Collector could not afford to remain in close touch with the elected office-bearers of PR bodies much less with the masses The responsibilities assigned to the Collector, with regard to coordinating the activities of the different departments and supervising the district level officers engaged in rural development efforts remained ill attended As the services of a few departments had been placed at the disposal of the parishad its resolutions and requests for inviting the district level officers of technical departments in meetings and for quick disposal of works by them, had fallen flat [19] The position status and powers of the secretary of the parishad could hardly enable him to coordinate and activise the services of the district level officers What disturbed the planners and practitioners of PR was the fact that the Collector not only did not pay prompt attention to rural development programmes but he also engaged the key functionaries of the development blocks in activities relating to revenue rent collection law and order supply of essential commodities election census and the like As better performance in other extraneous fields of activities got higher priorities in the eyes of the Collector the block development officers and other members of his team were bound to assign top priority to these tasks even at the cost of their usual tasks [20]

The different technical departments of the government had been protesting against the utilization of their subordinate officers and staff in jobs other than their own All this gave rise to a thinking in some quarters that the then role of Collector was not conducive to the scheme of democratic decentralization and since development administration did not blend well with the executive regulatory administration the two should be separated [21] A sub-committee appointed by the State government for the amendment of the PR legislations under the chairmanship of Lal Singh Tyagi also stressed the

need for reorganizing the administration at the district level and the creation of a separate executive officer for the zila parishad "[22]

THE SHORT LIVED EXPERIMENT

In June 1973, the Government of Bihar took a decision to bifurcate the development administration from the general administration in PR districts [23] The most distinguishing feature of the bifurcated system was the creation of an office of the Deputy Development Commissioner cum Chief Executive Officer (DDC) of the zila parishad in the senior scale of IAS He was placed at par with the Collector so that officials under him could pay 'undivided attention to the planning development and welfare tasks The government delegated the same power and assigned the same duties and functions to the DDC as had been vested in the DDO and the Collector under the provisions of the Bihar Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishad Act 1961 and rules framed thereunder The DDC was also required by law to function as an ex officio secretary of the parishad He was made responsible for the execution of all the rural development schemes that were planned sanctioned and provided for by different departments Consequently as per law and the executive instructions the DDC was expected to function as an executive officer equal to and independent of the Collector so far as development functions in the district were concerned Thus the DDC was made the over all in charge of planning welfare and development and accordingly, he replaced the Collector as captain of the team of district level officers of different development departments For more effective coordination the DDC was empowered to exercise control over the departmental heads of the district and in this context he was given powers to grant casual leave to initiate proposal for transfer and disciplinary action against them to require submission of reports returns and any information regarding the programme of planning development and welfare to record annual confidential reports on the work and conduct of each of the district level officers concerned with the rural development and to inspect any work in progress under the zila parishad Like the Collector previously the DDC was empowered to sanction the tour of the members of the panchayat samitis and their standing committees to attend seminars outside the districts and to control the pramukhs and up pramukhs of the samiti and the members of the parishads

Another distinguishing feature of the reorganized district administration was the creation of two posts of Assistant Deputy Development Commissioners (ADDCs) under the DDC [24] These officers were of the rank of Additional

District Magistrate Their main purpose was to assist the DDC in due discharge of his official functions They were assigned areas for intensive and extensive supervision and were allotted work at the district headquarters The BDOs within the district hitherto functioning under the SDO were placed under the direct supervision and control of the ADDCs thus making them free from any direct administrative control of the SDO

The reorganization of the district administration created the necessity of coordination between the two officers, the Collector and the DDC—both of same rank and status—who were having overlapping spheres of duties and functions Visualising such an exigency, the planners impressed upon these two officers to take resort to mutual consultation whenever any problems came in the way of smooth functioning of two sides of the administration Moreover, both the Collector and the DDC had to function under a common coordinator the Divisional Commissioner and in case of difference of opinion between them, the work had to be executed according to the decisions of the Commissioner

THE IMPACT OF THE EXPERIMENT

Though a short lived experiment the reorganized district level administrative set up was not altogether without positive results With the creation of a separate hierarchy of administration for rural development headed by a high powered DDC the elected office-bearers and the officials of the PR institutions and the people in general found an easy access to the officer in ultimate charge of the development activities in the district The DDC helped them in solving financial problems and administrative bottlenecks -- This could be possible because it had become a matter of personal concern on the part of the heads of departments the Chief Secretary and the Development Commissioner at the State level to provide the DDC with all the amenities and perquisites available to the Collector so as to establish him as a district officer in full and final charge of development administration Besides it was possible, on account of his position status and powers for DDC to communicate about the needs and requirements of his area to State authorities and obtain the requisite financial, technical and administrative assistance

Secondly under the bifurcated system all the departments concerned with rural development were placed under the PR through the DDC who could now ensure the provision of the needed technical guidance and assistance from the district level officers to the PR bodies Owing partly to the interest and initiative displayed by the DDC in the vigorous implementation of rural

development programmes, the technocrats at the district level found it difficult to ignore giving proper and adequate supervision and guidance to their remotely employed staff in the block [26]

Thirdly, with the creation of a separate hierarchy of administration for rural development, the block organization along with its deliberative wing—panchayat samiti—came into its own The officials and the non-official institutional leaders of the samiti got access to a high powered development officer in the DDC on whom they relied for removing administrative bottlenecks and resolving financial and technical problems Though still not completely relieved of some regulatory duties the BDO and the members of the block staff for the first time came to realize that their primary concern was rural development And a consciousness on their part that their performance would be assessed on the basis of their achievement in development activities made a great difference in their approach towards their tasks [27]

Fourthly the resultant defects of a remotely and inadequately supervised administration could be removed to a great extent by chalking out inspection programmes for bringing about improvement in work at the block level and by a regular presence of the DDC and the technical officers in the meetings of the panchavat samiti

Finally in a short period of time the bifurcated set up displayed its potentialities to accelerate the pace of rural development The major areas of achievements were executing a large number of old pending development schemes [28] improving the system of distribution of improved variety of seeds [29] fertilizers and agricultural implements providing timely financial assistance to the farmers constructing houses for Harijans, opening of feeding centres raising savings and launching of integrated area plans

The reorganization pertained to the preparatory phase of active association of the PRIs with development activities within their areas In other words the replacement of the Collector by the DDC in the field of rural development was intended for preparation of suitable background for ultimate entrustment of these activities to the PRIs

RESTORATION OF THE CAMPBELLIAN IDEA

The initial trends of the working of the bifurcated pattern of district administration were pointer to its capabilities to accelerate the pace of rural develop-

ment programmes But this useful experiment was abandoned during 1976 77 The office of the Collector, which lost its lustre during this experiment, was made once again the centre of district administrative power and as the "eyes and ear" of the State government With a view to ensuring an overall control of the district officer over the entire activities in the district, the State government was directed from time to time by the Centre to restore the eroding authority of the district officers The Government of Bihar, very much like the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, George Campbell who about a century ago sought to make the generalist district officer the centre of all authorities in the district[30] restored the pre-eminent and multifunctional position of the district officer and thus shelved the bifurcated scheme of development administration

It is significant to note that a number of factors have for long been pressing the government to restore the integrated pattern of administration and the pre-eminent position of the Collector Earlier the district represented the operational unit and the division remained an artificial territorial unit of administration The district officer continued to be the primary field agency enjoying immense prestige as the sole representative of the government and its agent and spokesman at the district level The Commissioner was responsible for superintendence and control over the magistracy police, the Collector and other revenue officers but he never acted as a primary field officer In the post independent era of planned development, however, the Commissioner was vested with powers of general superintendence and coordination over development and welfare activities which enabled him to exercise greater direct authority over the field functionaries and to supplement the functions of the Collector and other district officers at the divisional level[32] The enlargement of the role of Divisional Commissioner at the cost of the prestige of the district officer made the former as the representative of the total government at the divisional level—a system which basically ignored the established tradition of sustaining the district as the primary and viable unit of administration

IMPERATIVES OF CO ORDINATION

Restoration of the integrated district administration was being emphasized because the coordination at the district level had become weak and nominal The creation of the vertical hierarchies by various departmental agencies had left the district officer out of reckoning from various activities pertaining to the respective departments The tendency on the part of these departments had been to process through their respective hierarchies all proposals concerning the preparation of schemes technical sanction administrative approval issue of

work orders and finalisation of tenders, without acquainting the district officer with these developments

A number of commissions and committees favoured an integrated administrative system at the district level Thus though the Administrative Reforms Commission had favoured a bifurcated district administration, two of its members in their *note of dissent*, had pleaded for an integrated system[32] The conference of State Ministers in charge of Backward Classes Welfare resolved that

> There may be preferably a single line of authority for implementation from the field level to the State level with clear responsibility and adequate delegation of powers at different levels This chain of command should be responsible for all aspects of development and regulatory functions The popular *participation in decision making and implementation* of the plan may be appropriately built in at different levels without however allowing to dilute the responsibility of the chain of command in the administrative structure[33]

Similarly, a team constituted by the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Government of India to assess the situation in the tribal areas of Chota Nagpur and Santhal Pargana had observed In case the present scheme of bifurcating the administrative and developmental functions at the district levels is carried through the unity of command will be lost at the district level[34]

DYSFUNCTIONS OF THE BIFURCATED SYSTEM

In support of the integrated pattern the government claimed to have gained some unsatisfactory administrative experiences during the experiment of bifurcated system First the separation of development functions from the other functions of the Collector and the creation of a separate post of the DDC for development activities resulted in eroding considerably the authority of the former and in weakening his position in the discharge of his duties Deprived of the services of a large number of officers in the bifurcated system the district officer had to face difficulties in deploying adequate number of staff for effective execution of various programmes such as control of crimes collection of government dues procurement of foodgrains arrangement of public distribution system and administration of relief measures Since his role in initiating actions on constructive lines in the fields of agriculture irrigation electrification and the like had mitigated his real authority in enforcing law and order in the district suffered considerably[35]

Secondly, the scheme of bifurcation, it was claimed, also neglected the sound principle of decentralization of administrative powers in two ways One earlier the SDO exercised general supervision over the development activities in a sub-division Under the new scheme all powers were concentrated at the district level surpassing the sub divisional administrative machinery Moreover the people residing in remote villages in a muffasil sub-division were denied the advantages of getting their grievances redressed at the local level Two, before the bifurcation scheme came into force the DDO functioned as the secretary to the zila parishad and the district officer functioned as the overall authority to co-ordinate the development activities Thus the powers of the secretary to the parishad as well as the district officer were concentrated in a single functionary the DDC

Thirdly, even if the bifurcation was introduced to relieve the district officer of certain functions in view of his preoccupation with multifarious activities it was done at a wrong time Consequent upon the bifurcation of the judiciary and executive the district officer had already been relieved of his jurisdiction relating to criminal law administration Further the creation of new districts had reduced the geographical area of most of the formerly over sized districts thus enabling the district officers to exercise more intensive supervision over administrative and development activities

Fourthly, the bifurcation created a dyarchy in administration and carried in it the seeds of dissensions and rivalry between the two officers of equal rank at the district level The scope of conflict was aggravated by an arrangement of dual control of these officers on circuit house *nazarat* establishment record room law sections and on certain members of the collectorate staff[36]

Lastly the strong interlinkages among the functions of law and order revenue and relief administration on the one hand and development functions on the other induced the planners to restore the old unified and integrated administrative pattern at the district level

No wonder the Government of Bihar decided to restore the century-old pre-eminent position of the district officer and to make him the centre of the district administration for effective governance The posts of DDC and the ADDCs were abolished and the district officer was once more made to represent the government in the district

CONCLUSION

The State Government in Bihar has been treating the administrative system under the PR in a piecemeal manner The bifurcation of development ad

ministration with a separate Chief Executive Officer in the zila parishad as its administrative head proved eufunctional in speeding up the pace of rural development

The arguments put forward in favour of the restoration of an integrated pattern are in fact arguments for enhancing the pre-eminent position of the district officer These, however, do not take into account the ever-changing needs of the rural development administration Already the State of Bihar has a long experience of an integrated district officer system and this experience shows that it has failed to make a satisfactory transition from the old law and order and revenue orientation to contemporary developmental needs and perspective The outlook is still that of an antiquated administration and there continues to be persistence of paternalism in administrative behaviour

Indeed the question of bifurcation of development administration from 'regulatory administration is inextricably linked with the broader question of decentralization of decision making powers to the PRIs Even in the bifurcation scheme no substantial transfer of authority was made from the district administration bureaucracy to the zila parishad Notwithstanding the limitations of the earlier attempt it should be stressed that if PRIs are to function as units of self government and democratic administration the bifurcation of development administration seems to be a fundamental necessity In Maharashtra the bifurcated system is working satisfactorily, Even in Bihar in a short span of time the bifurcated system showed that it could help greatly in speeding up the pace of rural development and decentralization The Committee on Panchayati Raj Institutions has also suggested that the role of the Chief Executive Officer on the pattern obtaining in Maharashtra or Gujarat should be established[37] in various States Thus the need remains of synthesizing a system of differentiation at the district administration with an effective decentralized administration through the strengthening of panchayati raj institutions

NOTES

1 Hugh Tinker *Foundations of Local Self government in India Pakistan and Burma* (London 1954) p 54

2 See Government of Bengal Bengal Administration Enquiry Committee (1944-45) *Report* (Alipore 1945) para 64

3 Haridwar Rai The District Officer and Development Administration A Phase of Expansion and Innovation *Journal of Administrative Sciences* XI (Jan Dec 1966) 86

4 Government of India Grow More Food Enquiry Committee *Report* (Delhi 1952) p 53 Also see Government of Bihar Economy Committee *Report* (Patna 1952) p 35

5 Government of India Community Project Administration copy of letter No CPA/65/63 New Delhi dated 18 September 1953

6 Grow More Food Enquiry Committee *Report* p 63 Also see Government of India Planning Commission PEO *Evaluation Report on First Year s Working of Community Projects* (New Delhi 1954)

7 Government of India *The First Five Year Plan* (New Delhi 1952) p 130

8 *Ibid* p 126

9 Government of India *Road t Welfare State* (New Delhi Publications Division 1957)

10 Government of India Planning Commission PEO *Evaluation Report on the Working of Community Projects* (New Delhi 1954) p 12

11 Government of India Planning Commission PEO *Evaluation Report on the Second Year s Working of Community Projects* Vol I (New Delhi 1955) p 5

12 Government of India COPP Team for the Study of Community Projects and National Extension Service *Report* (Hereafter cited as the report of the Mehta Study Team) Vol I (New Delhi 1957) p 19

13 See AWARD Study Team of Democratic Decentralisation in Rajasthan *Report* (1961) p 19 Government of Maharashtra Committee on Democratic Decentralisation *Report* (Bombay 1961) p 101

14 G Ram Reddy Introduction in Reddy ed *Patterns of Panchayati Raj in India* (Madras Macmillan 1977) p 16

15 Till recently the three tier institutions of PR have been functioning in only eight districts out of 31

16 Government of Bihar *The Bihar Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads Act 1961* (Patna 1961) section 48

17 *Ibid* sec 64

18 This was the general opinion of the PR leaders interviewed in the district of Bhagalpur

19 This situation was observed by one of the authors in a meeting of the parishad in the district of Bhagalpur

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE

20 It is not an unusual experience For detailed information on this point see Awadhesh Prasad *The Block Development Officer A Portrait of Bureaucracy in India* (Patna Associated Book Agency 1976) chap. VII

21 *Ibid* chap I

22 Government of Bihar Panchayati Raj Directorate Circular No 4340-G P Patna dated 8 May 1973 Also see *The Bihar Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad (Amendment) Ordinance 1973* (Patna 1973)

23 Government of Bihar Planning and Development Department Circular No 4340-GP Patna dated 8 May 1973

24 Observations here are based on the information furnished in Some Important Aspects of the Scheme of Separation of the Development Administration in the District of Bhagalpur Office of the Deputy Development Commissioner Bhagalpur 1974 (mimeo) (Hereafter cited as The Report of the DDC)

25 *Ibid*

26 Post bifurcati n empirical evidences suggest that the frequency of the visit of the officers of technical departments to the blocks have increased

27 For example in the district of Bhagalpur as many as 3 673 old development schemes were pending on 1 April 1973 By February 1974 1 114 old schemes were completed In cases where executing agencies were not amenable to moral persuasion certificate cases had been filed in 719 cases and due care was taken to get the new schemes completed according to the time schedule

28 The DDC took up the construction of 89 houses in Jayanti village of the district of Bhagalpur for the members of the Scheduled Castes engaged in unclean professions See The Report of the DDC

29 Although George Campbell sought to separate the technical functions of the government from the general functions he brought all the government agencies functioning in the district under control of the district officer so that the main defects of the Bengal Bihar pattern of the non integrated district administration could be remedied See *Report on the Administ ation of Be g l 1871 72* (Calcutta Bengal Secretariat Press 1872) pp 76-79

30 The Bengal Revenue Commissioner s Regulation 1829 under which the post of Divisional Commiss oner was created vested in him the power of superintendence and control over the magistracy and police and the Collectors and other executive revenue officers Until about the beginning of the Second Plan period his functions related mainly to revenue administration and assisting government in the maintenance of law and order in critical situations As the tempo of development activities increased need was felt to directly in olve the Commissioner for supervising and coordinating all development and welfare activities Thus he was made the team leader for all developm nt work within his division (Government of Bihar Chief Secretary s Circular No 1/C/ 1032/59 A-4154 Patna dated 23 March 1969) After about a decades the need was felt to make him a

nodal point invested with adequate authority to represent the total government at the regional level in the interest of quick and efficient implementation of plan programme See Government of Bihar Department of Personnel Resolution No 21307 Patna 28 November 1972

31 Government of India Administrative Reforms Commission *Report on State Administration* (New Delhi 1969)

32 The conference was held on April 19-20 1975

33 Government of India Committee on Tribal Situation in Bihar *Report* (Chairman Sham Dev) 1975 mimeo.

34 Government of India Committee on Panchayati Raj Elections *Report* (New Delhi 1965) p 59

35 Government of Bihar Chief Secretary s Letter No 4587 CP Planning and Development Department (Directorate of Panchayati Raj) Patna 5 September 1974

36 Government of India Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation Committee on Panchayati Raj Institutions *Report* (Chairman Asoka Mehta) (New Delhi 1978) 94 96

T N Chaturvedi

The Civic Context of Private Sector Issue of Social Responsibility

The question of social responsibility of any segment in society implies the problem of cooperative action and inter personal as well as group relationships so that society remains on an even keel *i e* without needless tensions or frictions Social responsibility aims at social good It comprehends the mutuality and reciprocity of relationships It is only in social groups or cooperative living that the question of social responsibility arises and assumes importance The totality of social values norms and standards that permeate and prevail in society conditions the value-system of its various sections The crucial question then is What constitutes a 'good society and what contribution to its development is made by the various social groups? there is the acquisitive society characterized by a set of values It indicates a mode in which social groups function. As the goal of an acquisitive society is considered narrow, selfish and parochial the debate naturally ensues as to how the sense of social responsibility can be woven into the social fabric so as to avoid or minimize social tensions

ETHICS OF DEVELOPMENT

Even Adam Smith the father of *laissez faire* in his *Wealth of Nations* tried to work out some kind of harmony between the quest of individual self interest and the achievement of social good through maximization of social good Though looked upon as the father of political economy Adam Smith was not a Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow in vain Further we are not unaware of the motivation and implications of Gandhi s philosophy of trusteeship The very concept of trusteeship implies an element of mutual confidence and social obligations Even Jawaharlal Nehru when he was the Prime Minister in view of his keenness to promote general civic consciousness in the country would from the platforms of business and industrial organizations

invariably draw their attention to the need for assuming social responsibility on their part if they wanted acceptability in society and support from the government As a matter of fact, the parameters of social responsibility of the industrial community are not laid down either by administrators and politicians nor by academics and philosophers It is for the industrial community itself to realize not only the purposes and processes but also the ethics, of development

TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIAL PSYCHE

Social responsibility is not just a philosophical concept it has operational significance and implications for different sections of society It is not a question of every other group having social responsibility except me and my group' It is an idea as well as an ideal which must percolate the psyche as well as the style of working of all groups and sections so that the system itself gets transvalued and transformed in the direction of the good of the society It is the social purpose which ought to inform our thinking as our sense of social responsibility stands for certain values like sincerity of purpose, fairness loyalty, justice, integrity and so on which lend significance to human personality These are no doubt individual values but it is basically a good individual who can become a good citizen amidst the web of complex relationships among individuals in society Hence social responsibility will comprise time-honoured personal qualities as well as added social virtues which enable individuals and groups to rise above the narrow considerations of self into the wider realm of social perception and social sensitivity which are also dynamic in nature This is as necessary for all sections in society as it is for specialized groups such as trade commerce and industry Viewed in this light there are certain *common elements of social responsibility for all sections while there will be* certain specific ingredients more relevant to specific groups say the professionals businessmen public servants and industrialists

INITIATING ROLE OF INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY

Without being platitudinous we may broadly analyse the characteristics of social responsibility in industry This has an added relevance in a developing society which is striving for a socio-economic order which aims to provide to the mass of people the minimum of civilized existence through democratic means A developing society cannot of its own accord generate a cohesive consumer protection movement nor of the type Ralph Nader has done in America Besides the state due to manifold demands on its time and resources may not always have the energy insight or expertise to work out the equilibrium of

social responsibility among the industrial community whose effectiveness the state wants to broaden, deepen and strengthen in the hope of the overall social development social welfare and social good as well as achieving a maximization of economic activity It is not a question why industrialists alone should have a sense of social responsibility and not others If they do not, it would be a shortsighted approach running counter to the lessons of history It is in the fitness of things that the industrialists provide the leadership and take the initiative with all sincerity Neither solemn affirmations on public platforms, nor fiery exhortations can really act as the substitute for intellectual integrity on the part of the industrial community

A MATTER OF CONSCIENCE

An industrialist is not only an industrialist he is also a citizen He must try to resolve the duality of the demands of good citizenship and the compulsions of his professional requirements as an industrialist It may be kept in view that social responsibility in industry is not mere philanthropy but a social obligation and a historical necessity, for it is the lesson of history that islands of affluence and complacency get submerged in the rising tide of popular discontent sooner then most people would suspect A growing economy cannot be devoid of the imperatives of equity and social justice The primary consideration therefore, when discussing the social responsibility of industry is how far the industrialists are contributing to the growth and development in their own area so as to enhance the gross national product But GNP has also the vital aspect of distributive values and social justice Do they understand the social framework in which they have to operate? Do they view the problems of production and productive efficiency in a mechanistic manner or dispassionately in the background of social urges social hopes as well as compulsions? Do they share the national goals which provide the rationale for governance in the country? Do their methods procedures and operations conform to the law of the land? There are attempts to exploit the loopholes in law irrespective of lasting social interest If any law and regulations have any inhibitory or restrictive effect why not explain and rationally expose it with a view to building public opinion instead of indulging in dubious transactions and manipulations with the help of powerful legal aid or the varied media that they may be in a position to command? This does not create public confidence but only a serious credibility gap in society It is all a question of image And the industrial and trade sector's image despite all publicity however subtle and public relations however deftly efficient cannot camouflage reality and mislead people Thus the social responsibility becomes a matter of good conscience which ought to guide our steps Not any sanctimonious pledges orobservances but a genuine striving

for building trust with the community at large is one of the principal manifestations of social responsibility

BROADENING THE VISION

In the industry's own functional area social responsibility demands that the enduring considerations of tomorrow must override the exigencies of the moment The profit motive *per se* is not wrong It gets sullied when the ends and means get mixed up It gets vitiated when it tends to become exploitative Are industrialists only interested in short term gains or also in the long term development of their own industry as well as that of the economy? Probably it may not be altogether wrong what some impartial economists have made out that the textile mills in the country would not have fallen on evil days if they were farsighted and had a forward looking approach to modernization at appropriate time and in stages It is not for one to apportion any blame Again are there any attempts not to exploit an artificial or contrived scarcity of goods sometimes of vital nature? The object is to highlight the need for long range perspective on the part of the industrialists as it is a necessary ingredient of their social responsibility

It cannot be forgotten that many perceptive economic historians and analysts have characterized the indigenous class of industrialists as being more of merchants than industrialists Strangely enough in any developing society the businessmen, traders and industrialists, are not quite often looked upon with favour or approval by the rest of the society And, it is really the members of the mercantile class that gravitate to industry or graduate as entrepreneurs This is the unfortunate legacy of a feudal society There is no reason either to fret or fume about this conventional pattern or to get dismayed As a matter of fact the crucial role of industrialists in promoting economic growth is luckily gaining recognition slowly and steadily But it only means that in order to ensure the acceptance of their rightful role of leadership of the economy their approach thought processes style of functioning orientation etc should be a matter of conscious effort so that the sullied image fades away and their positive role begins to be understood and appreciated by the society This is as essential for a fruitful play of social responsibility in industry as for the lasting good of the industrial economy Distrust and disbelief even if no more than myths unless imaginatively and deliberately removed only create of misgivings and misunderstanding

THE ISSUE OF IMAGE

Sometimes many dysfunctional trends appear which spoil the image of industry and run counter to the concept of social responsibility Even the universe of

industry is not a monolith Structure wise it is divided into monopoly, large middle, small and tiny sectors Sometimes the division is really legal, technical and operational—rather than neatly conceptual At times it becomes a question of the big fish devouring the small there are allegations of large industry or established groups not making prompt payments to ancillary or small units supplying parts There are complaints of other unfair practices Sometimes one finds that the so-called promotion of ancillary units is only an expression of charity beginning at home Correct action here does help to pro mote social solidarity and present a good image of industry to the public Similarly there are complaints against selling agencies about distribution sole or otherwise There are complaints also of anti social conduct by retailers and wholesalers The industry cannot disown its share of responsibility in this area It becomes a test of their organizational ability, social sensitivity and social responsibility If artificial scarcity is created or if prices are marked up without reason, people rightly get the impression that there is an unholy alliance for ulterior motives and it is natural for popular clamour to arise alleging want of responsibility on the part of industry in an economy of scarcity and seller s market

NEED FOR SELF REGULATION

Any resource to the devious ways allegedly adopted for evasion of taxes duties and dues is hardly possible if the industry neither supports such evasion nor approves of it But as an integral part of our analysis there should be heart searching as to how and why it happens at a fairly large scale causing further damage to credibility A similar problem arises when concessions and faci lities provided by the society are misused in a way socially reprehensible and economically injurious There are allegations of smuggling currency manipulations black money over invoicing and under invoicing and even connections with the underworld of crime either to bully the labour and cheat the consumer or defeat and deflect the effectiveness of the measures taken by the government charged with certain trust and obligation by the society Nobody will openly justify them They may not be widespread but a single fish can muddy the water and does it not erode the faith of the people in the industrial community? No attempt at finding scapegoats will help here The sole remedy may not rest with the industrial community But the reali sation must be there that it is their fair name and the faith in their social responsibility that are at stake Does it not underscore the responsibility of the silent majority in the industrial community to raise their voice against the crafty and the unscrupulous minority? Similar may be the position regarding

conspicuous consumption and vulgar ostentation whether for social or business reasons Does it not mean distortion of our resources which are limited socially, if not individually? What psychological effect does it have on the poor and the disadvantaged who are now socially alert, assertive and even articulate? What impact does it have in the comity of nations when a developing country makes its claims to be working for the eradication of poverty? These are not cliches but hard realities of economic life And a socially responsible industrial community will always take a prompt note of it

POSITIVE RESPONSE TO COMMUNITY NEEDS

Certainly social responsibility in industry very rightly expresses itself in the preservation and promotion of religious institutions charitable activities, social organizations and in encouraging educational activities arts literature and all types of sports and cultural activities Many industrial leaders have done a remarkable job in many of these areas and won the gratitude of society Even in the challenging tasks of providing employment initiation of rural development programme, promotion of animal husbandry food for the poor and famine relief path-breaking work has been done by our industrialists and new institutional devices have been worked out Unfortunately there is a tendency sometimes to do things in a ritualistic manner such as adoption of villages Here the enthusiasm exhausts itself after the initial euphoria Recently it has been reported that the response of industry to concessions in respect of rural development has not been very encouraging From the viewpoint of broadening the market for industrial goods and also in order to bridge the dichotomy of rural *versus* urban, this is an area which needs sustained and serious action programming Industry is the storehouse of knowledge and experience It is only appropriate that more and more of it is utilized for the sake of social good by the community and the state

Unfounded suspicions should not be harboured for ideological reasons that it is only self interest which propels industry or that it will take advantage of every occasion or opportunity for its own ends Industry must have the scope for development and deserves recognition when its social responsibility finds concrete expression in the ways open to it for the sake of social benefit It may be added as a matter of abundant caution that industry will get more and well deserved credit for its sense of social responsibility if the public institutions and activities initiated by it are not in any way limited either in their objects or in working by sectional considerations and their management again is dissociated operationally from the running of industry, and entrusted to managing organizations consisting of representative people of recognized eminence from different walks of life

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE

PROTECTING CONSUMERS INTERESTS

Advertising is the necessary concomitant of industrial expansion But here too a sense of social responsibility should dictate the limits against false claims and shoddy goods which in turn, provoke popular hostility and resentment In a protected market where almost anything sells the attention to quality and genuineness of products is of paramount importance The slogan that the consumer is sovereign does not apply only to a free market economy Even in a planned economy aiming at growth with stability and justice without trying to promote consumerism which a developing economy may not be able to sustain it is of vital importance for the industry to see that the consumer gets his due and that his dignity is not hurt As regards the protection of the consumers who may be unorganized today, let us not forget that even a worm turns Hence both personal and social responsibility demands that industry should be more responsive to the consumer and even help to educate him It is a good social policy to cooperate with the right type of voluntary organizations and motivated citizens interested in protecting the consumer

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS AND LABOUR WELFARE

Another area where social responsibility is important is that of labour relations and labour welfare Trade unionism is an adjunct of industrial expansion so is the statutory regulatory mechanism of labour legislations It is not enough to say that no laws are being violated It is the spirit in which things are done that is significant The real and the ritualistic attitude to labour welfare has its significance There should be neither an attempt to bully nor to buy off It is only the straight path of propriety and legality paved with a sense of social purpose which will ultimately be of help to industry Similarly, the creation and fair distribution of employment opportunities in the process of distribution without bias and parochial considerations does help in making social responsibility meaningful Again there is the problem of professionalization of management with all that it implies It is not only a question of hereditary *vs* hired managers It also means the organizational climate and opportunity for development It stands for professional ethics where the people and the future society matter as much as industrial profits That is why the perks not justified by the social contribution of the professionally trained hired managers are suspect in the public eye If patronage is socially wrong on the part of the government it is certainly not correct in industry as though personal proclivity sectarian affiliations etc can always be camouflaged as reward for merit and hard work

STRENGTHENING THE TECHNOLOGICAL BASE

Industry has played a great role during the freedom struggle in India in promoting the spirit of *Swadeshi* and self reliance Of course motives are imputed for this sympathy and support But avoiding any acrimonious debate one has to concede in all fairness that the role of the industrial community in laying the foundations of industrial promotion in the difficult days of the alien rule has been laudable and positive in its results There are now tremendous possibilities for the future When the circumstances are so propitious and the country is poised for progress what does the industry do to promote fundamental research? Is it doing enough research to keep its own head above water, even in its self interest, in a competitive international market? Is the attempt to enter into foreign collaborations rightly motivated? Do we really respect the research that is being carried out in our laboratories and universities? If the industry feels it has the requisite technology and if it is opposed to technical collaboration on the part of others, does it not really amount to trying to protect its own market? If on the other hand the industry is conscious of its responsibility is it prepared for horizontal transfer of technology on fair terms to small and middle category industry or to technocrats? These are relevant facets of a progressive industry since technology is not a private affair but a social instrument to be used for far reaching socio-economic transformation

REDRESSING DEVELOPMENTAL IMBALANCES

As a practical manifestation of the social responsibility the industrial community can do a good deal besides its primary role of producing 'more goods or services and making them available to the community as a whole at reasonable rate It can make honest and sincere effort without pressing for subsidies and concessions in carrying the benefits of industrial growth to the needy areas so as to redress the imbalances of development as a historic process Paying due attention to environment and ecological problems encouraging new entrants with promise to develop their skills and potential spirit of entrepreneurship they can effectively contribute to the promotion of economic welfare and an egalitarian as well as dynamic economy Moreover a significant aspect of its social responsibility is not to deviate from the norms and practices of a modern and enlightened marketology There is ample attention to quality, the requisite after-sales service fulfilment of assurances guarantees or promises to consumers and the easy availability to them of the correct and sufficient information so that they are in a position to make rational choice amidst high pressure sales campaign of competing products and goods The expanding

contribution to research and the safety, durability serviceability of goods and services apart from eschewing unfair trade practices as are commonly referred to by the consumer protection movements as well as legislation, as the basic ingredients of social responsibility in action

FUSION OF NATIONAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL GOALS

Social responsibility in industry implies appreciation of the socio economic programmes and goals, a desire to ensure efficiency and probity, effective use of the scarce resources, avoidance of waste environmental consciousness increased productivity, accountability to public and public institutions along with a wider social awareness Social responsibility means the attempt to create an ethos which reconciles industrial growth with the social milieu and objectives It is necessary that society and the state also provide the environment where such industrial ethos can grow and prosper The industry should disapprove of the truant and the erring and the professional organizations of the industry should act not only as pressure groups for particular policies and programmes but also as sources of dissemination of scientific knowledge and as the spokesmen for the citizen keeping the long term interests of the economy in view It is this attitude in industry which will help to give meaning to the concept of social responsibility

COMPLEMENTARITY OF GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS

It is from this angle that the relationship between the government and the industry is very important We talk of more business efficiency in government and of more social concern in industry The government due to socio economic imperatives has a variegated and activist role to play The role is regulatory developmental promotional and welfare oriented and that of a custodian of the unprivileged and the disinherited This is a subject by itself But those roles bring the administration and the industry in very intimate contact It is not possible to dilate on many problems at any great length It will suffice to say that it requires understanding of the mutual viewpoints between government and industry and the consequential informed and enlightened reciprocal trust and confidence

The industry should not approach administration for favours but in pursuance of public policy if it is actuated by social responsibility Also industry must not always harp on the negative and obstructionist attitude of administration for the government seeks to serve public interest There can always be honest difference of opinion and debate about how best public interest can be

achieved But the two social entities should not be construed to be as the two distinct adversary forces Thus the role of the private and the public sectors must be viewed in the proper social context and without bias or recrimination The industry must as a part of social responsibility insist on its rights and fight for them, as do citizens, in the light of public policy, and not try to circumvent procedures and influence authorities by indirect pressures and indulge in underhand deals The nexus of business and the industry with political and administrative institutions is not always a figment of the imagination These may bring some short term gains but at the cost of both public confidence and social responsibility Let industry not forget that it has as big a bureaucracy of its own as any government has and any difference with public policy or political stand should not be projected as administrative cussedness and venality Such postures do not reinforce the operational concept of social responsibility In a democratic country it is important that people do not get the impression that the money bags corrupt politics and administration insidiously or surreptitiously at their expense It is also for the alert public vigilance to ensure that the industrial community does not feel stifled in its socially productive efforts due to negative policy or administrative postures Not only social censure is necessary and correct—however drastic it may be due to compulsions of social good—it must also be relentless if there is deliberate dereliction deviation or distortion by the industrial community of the promised social responsibility in an environment both of faith and trust as well as of enlightened self interest

CONCLUSION

Social responsibility is thus a question of approach attitudes skills personal and group values as well as the practices and relationships that flow therefrom Social responsibility transcends the negative restraints of laws and regulations and emphasizes more and more the impulse of self restraint good conscience and community sanction It lifts the individual opportunity for gain to the realms of social contribution thus enlarging the individual personality and enriching the society in terms of social satisfaction productivity and welfare

The theoretical exposition is presented in an operational context to clarify our conceptions and stimulate thinking It has been reiterated that social responsibility is the desideratum of a society which seeks and strives to serve the good of all It is not the exclusive concern of any one section but all sections in entirety But no section can excuse itself because of the lack of it in others in society The intention is not to invent an alibi or apportion blame In a broad

framework of exploratory exercise of the concept, the attempt has been made to identify the basic strands, constituents and imperatives of the concept at a given time It has however, to be kept in view that the social responsibility is not something static but is in the nature of a moving equilibrium, sensitive to the dynamics of change and aspirations of a fast moving society

It will be a happy consummation if the realization of the social responsibility becomes operationally the part of the ethos and self regulation of the industrial community in society It will be a sad day if the society instead of developing social cohesiveness becomes a society of alibis excuses and confrontations Social responsibility ought to grow roots in individual value system professional ethics self regulations group rectitude and social vision rather than provided by the state only through inquisitory action external restraint and legal sanction and punitive approach There is nothing platitudinous about it It is all becoming increasingly a logic of social survival An enlightened articulate and active public opinion is the only safeguard against the deviation from the path of social responsibility It is also its support and its reinforcement

Faisal Al-Salem

Bureaucracy and Alienation in the Arab Gulf States

In defining bureaucracy most writers refer to the Latin roots of the word, meaning the authority of the office.[1] A contemporary author suggests "authoritative administration of the office," or the act of "executing the work of the office in an organized manner that is characterized by power." Further definitions include "a type of administration that succumbs to many regulations and guidelines," and "a specific organization with certain characteristics."[3] Some sample topics listed under public administration include the pathology of administration, governmental interference, big government, despotism and hierarchy.

These headings reveal that bureaucracy and public administration have negative connotations which is unfortunate and misleading. Not all administration is "bad" and to imply that it is does a grave injustice to the very vital service provided by competent bureaucracy. The difficulty lies in proving such a statement empirically. If one considers such a definition as a working hypothesis, certain conclusions can be reached scientifically.[4] Such is the aim of this empirical study.

WEBER'S CONCEPTUALIZATION

Bureaucracy by definition is an apparatus that was set up to perform a certain public function, hence the name public servants. Max Weber defines bureaucracy as the administrative apparatus that is operated by official appointees characterized by great technical ability and rational behaviour.[5] They have been placed in their offices in the belief that they can transform theoretical laws

This paper is one of a series in a comprehensive study entitled "Bureaucracy and Alienation in the Arab Gulf States" sponsored by the Research and Training Committee at Kuwait University. The countries under study are Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, UAE and Bahrain. The author would like to express his deep appreciation to Dr. Ahmad Dhaher and Dr. Maria Al-Salem for their useful comments on the first draft of this paper.

into practical decisions In other words, if the public does not gain from the exercise of legitimate authority, the failure is not due to the laws, but rather to the inefficiency of the bureaucrats

Public administration as a system is as old as the state itself However the bureaucratic order, as defined by Max Weber is a modern phenomenon Thus bureaucratic inefficiency is also a modern phenomenon because some political systems have expanded too rapidly leading to corruption within the bureaucratic order [6]

Authority in traditional systems has been rooted in social codes and norms which also transmit traditional culture In such systems, public administrators have had to acquiesce to the customs and traditions inherent in the system The tribal leader has religious economic and legislative authority with which he interprets the laws according to the expectations of his society The tribal leader is the legislator the executor and the judge in this setting A charismatic authority, on the other hand, has a strong relationship between himself and his people Traditions in this circumstance carry little weight The charismatic leader can decide arbitrarily but at a risk to his personal stature

While power in traditional societies is obtained through kinship wealth and experience, such considerations are not prerequisites in authoritarian charismatic systems Power is attainable by associating with the ruling elite hence serving the leader implicitly and explicitly takes precedence over the public welfare Merit ability and expertise are secondary to political loyalty The leader can promote, dismiss or reject employees at will [7] The nature of this type of administration leads to a concentration of power devoid of traditional considerations such as age kinship wealth or wisdom The bureaucrats in this system are not serving the public but the power elite Weber mentions the following considerations

1 The appointed bureaucrats are obliged to execute the decisions of the ruling authority

2 The organization of the bureaucracy is pyramidal

3 The administrators are appointed and not elected

4 The authority sets the pay scale and has the right to remove the bureaucrat from one place to another to promote or to expel [8]

Joseph La Palombara finds Weber's model a revolutionary concept in public affairs[9] Unlike the Roman and Chinese administrative apparatus Weber's bureaucracy is a modern phenomenon arising roughly in the 17th century Carl Friedrich considers modern bureaucracy to be a consequence of the expansion of the church the military and the state[10] The expansion of these institutions led to an increase in the number of civil servants The church was building churches hospitals schools and monastaries, and cultivating vast tracts of land The armies were expanded for defensive and offensive objectives With the advent of statehood and nationalism kings were forced to delegate responsibilities in such areas as tax collection armament foreign policy and services

MANIFESTATION OF TRADITIONAL CULTURE IN BUREAUCRATIC BEHAVIOUR

In developing countries the need for a merit system in personnel administration is obvious Despite numerous studies by the World Bank and other organizations calling for administrative reforms in these countries their leaders counterargue that Weberian laws are an ideal that cannot be practised In reality, the central impediment is that the leaders have been trying to balance an old traditional order with a modern rational administrative apparatus Upon execution of such contradictory perspectives, confusion sets in leading to corruption Logic dictates that a modern administrative system should be based on merit job description and classification Yet, most of the civil servants in developing countries are appointed without merit Such civil servants find government service to be a lucrative means to power[11] La Palombara mentions the high turnover of what were then provincial governors of South Vietnam He explains the phenomenon as a demonstration of the accepted pattern of corruption where each appointee understood the post to represent a source of immediate wealth in the form of bribe taking or simply by sales of weapons to the enemy[1]

After World War II most of the developing countries were characterized by military governments with an administrative apparatus saturated with power and corruption[13] In terms of the Arab countries Berger notes that intellectual suppression and Western imperialism have created a polarity in the Arab mind on the one hand a fierce personal sense of honour, often expressed by nationalism and on the other, a generalized mistrust of other Arabs[14] This dualism characterizes all the nationalistic movements. Berger further notes that the average Arab's self-esteem may even contradict his nationalistic political feelings. Hence there is a disparity between his ad

herence to social traditions and customs and his disobedience of civil laws and regulations in either case the Arab operates within a system of constraints Before Islam the Arab tribes were engaged in continual warfare Islam tried to channel tribal loyalties into an all encompassing religious loyalty, with short lived success the Omayed Caliphate again stressed tribal loyalty [15] These tribal and familial loyalties still dominate the average Arab bureaucrat's performance for family objectives would have priority over merit or objective standards Consequently, political and bureaucratic institutions remain unstable

Closely allied to tribal loyalty is the Arab sense of honour which is akin to the oriental concept of 'face or the Latin machismo" Honour demands the preservation of the family name and ultimately, it seems to reside in the virtue of the women which is ironic considering their lowly status [16] Pride plays the main role in this attitude towards honour and the manifestations are numerous the Arab aversion to manual labour for example as being something below them a fixation with appearances be it clothes and cars or banquets for guests a stress on extravagant compliments and formalized patterns of social niceties, a reliance on gesture in place of substance, and many others

This type of character has sometimes been described as 'Fahlawi which might be loosely translated a know it all , the type of person who bullies inferiors Kowtows to superiors and who never admits being wrong The Fahlawi personality is emotional extremist, unscientific and short sighted [17]

Given the above characteristics the individual bureaucrat would find it difficult to behave in a legal rational manner Instead they have no respect for rules and regulations no moral commitment to the concept of work, no accountability a disregard for public welfare and anarchistic office practices This is hardly the basis for a Weberian bureaucracy hence the alienation between one s self and others [18]

THE CONCEPT OF ALIENATION

Alienation is a vague concept at best and one difficult to measure therefore a brief review of the different theories of alienation is in order so that it can be determined what kind of alienation if any the bureaucrats feel

One of the best summaries presented in this context is that of N Sayegh [19]

Alienation A Multi dimensional Interpretation

	Significance of Alienation	*Thinkers*	*Paraphrases*
1	Estrangement Self estrangement	Hegel	Creative alienation Metaphysical estrangement of Nature from Spirit
	Self-estrangement	Marx	Alienation of Productivity Estrangement of labour
	Self-estrangement	Langer	Estrangement from natural world
2	Anxiety Despair	Kierkegaard	Loss of self internal happening within oneself sickness unto death.
	Meaninglessness	Tillich	Man s reaction to the threat of non being
	Fear	Jaspers	Fear of meaningless life
3	Impersonalization Bureaucracy	Weber	The breakdown of relationship between human beings and other objects
	Lack of Communication	Camus	Strangeness uneasiness of In sufficient communication
	Meaninglessness	Camus	Man unrelated to anything
		Marcel	Destruction of the (being) brotherhood of man
4	Isolation Loneliness	Fromm	Man s acts and products have become estranged
5	Powerlessness Detachment	Seeman	Lack of participation
	Detachment	Marx	Separation from effective control over economic affairs
	Departicipation	Weber	Separation of man from the mean of bureaucracy
	Withdrawal	Nisbet	Lack of commitment to any norm or rule
	Over-conformity	Merton	The inauthentic response to norms rules and values

6	Anomie (1) (Sociological) Rulelessness Normlessness De-regulation	Durkheim	Weak collective consciousness—suicide, economic crises division of labour, loss of traditional authority
	(2) (Psychological) Anomie (self alienation) (loss of self)	MacIver	Breakdown of the individual sense of attachment to society Loss of all systems of values disorientation meaninglessness
	(Psychological)	Riesman	Anxiety for the approval of the others
7	Shame Sense of Absurd	Sartre	An apprehension of the presence of the other

Most of the Gulf bureaucrats indicated their powerlessness in terms of their inability to take action For the purpose of this study six such concepts have been delineated The respondents were encouraged to express themselves in their own words when asked about these concepts It was found that the respondents identified most closely with Seeman s concept of alienation as powerlessness or "Al Hamishia Literally translated "Al Hamishia ' is a feeling of "marginality or marginal existence from the mainstream of society

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

The definitions of alienation against which the respondents replies were measured included the following

(a) *Powerlessness* This is one of the central elements in Marx s critique of society 0 Marx asserts that power in society rests in the hands of the bourgeoisie while the great mass of the proletariat is powerless C. Wright Mills continues this line of thought "1 He included also the New Middle Class in his powerless group and asserted that power is actually wielded by an elite comprised of business military and political groups In the Marxist tradition, powerlessness is used as a radical criticism of society it is considered a moral as well as social injustice One of the implied demands is that power be more *democratically* distributed Of all the concepts of alienation this one seems to approximate the alienation being experienced by the people interviewed The difficulty with this proposition is that democracy itself is alien

to the social setting of much of the Arab world, a paradox that the interviewees readily admit

(b) *Meaninglessness* There are two main traditions in the use of this concept The first tradition focuses on the increasing complexity of society and the consequent difficulty of understanding its operation It might be considered a corollary to Weber s theory of the processes of rationalization and bureaucratization [22] Thus those theorists who attribute the increase in the feeling of powerlessness to the increased differentiation and specialization of social structures would attribute the increase in feelings of meaninglessness to a parallel cause While such concepts can be used to characterize the total society the focus may also be more narrow For example Adorno and his colleagues [23] and Cantrel [24] have used a concept very similar to meaninglessness to explain prejudice towards a minority group asserting that prejudice is an attempt to find a simple explanation for otherwise meaningless occurrences in society The second explanation for meaninglessness is the assertion that contemporary society appears meaningless because it actually *is* meaningless The basic cause of alienation is the irrationality of modern society

(c) *Normlessness* Normlessness is almost always treated within the context of Robert Merton s Social Structure and Anomie ' [25] In his article Merton advanced the hypothesis that individuals who accept the goals defined by society as desirable but find the socially prescribed means of attaining them ineffective will often use illegitimate means to achieve these goals Merton calls this behaviour innovative whereas Seeman calls it ' normless

(d) *Anomie* John Horton has argued that the concept of normlessness as us d by Merton and Seeman is considerably narrower than Durkheim s concept of anomie from which it is derived [6]

> Anomie defined as a disjunction between the success goal and legitimate opportunities to achieve success may very well be a socially structured discontent in American society yet Merton s anomie differs from that of Durkheim in one crucial respect—in its identification with the very groups and values which Durkheim saw as the prime source of anomie in industrial societies because self interested striving (the s atus and success goals) had been raised to social ends The institutionalization of self interested striving meant the legitimization of anarchy and amorality [7]

Thus Durkheim uses the concept of anomie to describe a society which no longer provides its members with standards for which to strive He writes that

> [T]he passions first must be limited Only then can they be harmonized with the facilities and satisfied But since the individual has no way of limiting them this must be done by some exterior force A regulative force must play the same role for moral needs which the organism plays for physical needs This means that this force can only be moral -8

(e) *Value Deviance* Anomie as defined above describes the situation of the individual who has no socially determined standards for which to strive The term value deviance refers to the situation of the individual who has goals deviant from those prescribed by society This may be because he has never been aware of any socially prescribed goals and has constructed his own, because he has rejected the goals of society and substituted his own or because he comes from a society whose values are different from those of the society in which he is living "9

(f) *Self Estrangement* In a sense this concept is a corollary of the above It is a form of alienation asserted to be characteristic of those who continue to fulfil their roles within the social system though they no longer accept its prescribed values 30

(g) *Work Alienation* In Fromm s analysis everyone who accepts the values of American society must be self estranged Others such as Mills emphasize that certain occupations tend to lead to self estrangement namely the occupations of the new middle class which require individuals to be either instigators or objects of human manipulation This demonstrates that the starting point for the concept of self estrangement has generally been the work role When the individual is forced to do work that is not meaningful for him he is alienated from his work and thus from himself In Marx s own formulation

> Estranged labor estranges man from his own body as well as external nature and his spiritual essence his human being 31

If one accepts the normative position that the only legitimate social values are those that include opportunities for creative work then indeed self estrangement must be linked to alienation from one s own work Within this

argument the nature of the work itself and not necessarily the place of work leads to alienation It can also be argued that work alienation is a separate concept For example it is often asserted that individuals whose work provides no intrinsic satisfaction find ' self realization in other spheres of their lives such as their families According to this argument work alienation need not lead to total self estrangement, although it would still contribute to it in one sphere of the individual s life On the other hand, self estrangement is sometimes attributed to causes other than the work role, such as being forced to conform to prevalent social, cultural or political conventions which is the case in most of the Arabian Gulf states [32]

OBJECTIVES

This paper attempts to study the nature of bureaucracy and attitudes towards it in the Arbian Gulf area Although people readily acknowledge that bureaucracy in the Gulf is an obstacle rather than a means to an end little has been done in the way of empirical research A major factor contributing to this lack of study is the general cultural antipathy to 'intrusions of privacy' —the common public reaction to a questionnaire Thus some questions were not answered, others answered ambiguously which added to the difficulty of collecting data

METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSIS

Definitions and propositions concerning bureaucracy were incorporated into a questionnaire which was distributed among administrators of various institutions of higher learning in selected Arab Gulf states Bureaucrats were asked to indicate preferences among several possible responses to 33 key questions In exploring the extent of alienation the questionnaire focused on the bureaucrats age citizenship place of birth gender socio-economic status family size and their evaluation of self professors and students Similar questionnaires were distributed among students and professors though with specific reference to their positions for purposes of eventual comparison This paper will focus exclusively on the bureaucrats

The valid responses were analyzed by an SPSS computer programme in order to obtain the correlation coefficient regression and chi square analysis The first four tables following give a profile of the sample Table 1 indicates the number of respondents by profession (student bureaucrat professor) and nationality Table 2 indicates the male female ratio Table 3 shows the

distribution by age of the bureaucrat sample and Table 4 indicates the average size of the family among the sample

Table 1

TOTAL RESEARCH SAMPLE BY CITIZENSHIP

Citizenship	*Bureaucrats*	*Professors*	*Students*	*Total*
Kuwaiti	139	60	376	575
Bahraini	8	17	151	176
Qatari	9	13	26	48
UAE	4	9	190	203
Saudi Arabian	1	1	—	2
Lebanese	8	6	—	14
Palestinian	20	13	—	33
Syrian	7	7	—	14
Jordanian	58	14	—	72
Egyptian	177	185	—	362
Sudanese	18	8	—	26
Iraqi	14	18	—	32
Omani	1	—	—	1
Yemeni	1	—	—	1
Tunisian	—	1	—	1
Algerian	—	1	—	1
Morroccan	—	1	—	1
Others	3	9	104	116
Total	468	363	847	1678

Table 2

MALE/FEMALE RATIO OF THE BUREAUCRAT SAMPLE

Total	*Male*	*Female*	*Male/Female Ratio*
468	234	234	50

Table 3

SAMPLE AGE

Age	*Bureaucrats*	*Percentage*
Under 16	—	—
18	—	—
20	—	—
22	—	—
24	—	—
26	—	—
28	243	51.9
30	104	22.2
35	54	11.5
40	25	5.3
45	15	3.2
50	14	2.9
55	12	2.5
Over 60	1	5
Total	468	100

Table 4

FAMILY SIZE OF THE BUREAUCRAT SAMPLE

Family Size	*Number of Sample*	*Percentage*
Less than 2	137	29.3
4	144	30.8
6	84	17.9
8	54	11.6
10	29	6.3
12	11	2.3
14	7	1.4
16	2	4
Over 18	—	—
Total	46[illegible]	100

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE

BUREAUCRATS SELF APPRAISAL

In determining the bureaucrats' self appraisal, the questionnaire centered on the following propositions

1 The bureaucrat assumes an essential role in building and advancing this educational institution

2 A desirable institution has a successful administration and not simply libraries curricula, students or teaching staff

3 The duty of the bureaucrat consists of transforming theoretical laws into practical decisions that serve the students and the faculty

4 As a bureaucrat in this institution I find that most of the adminis trators need comprehensive on the job training

5 As a bureaucrat in this institution I find that most of the adminis trators are highly qualified

6 Most of my colleagues in this institution are not qualified

7 Most of my fellow bureaucrats in this educational institution do not know what they are doing because they are ignorant of organizational methodology

8 Most of my colleagues do not know what they are doing because of the absence of administrative leadership

9 Most of my colleagues find the administrative leadership in this institution dictatorial and autocratic

10 The administrative leadership in this institute is not aware of what goes on at the lower levels

11 Connections (wasta) bargaining customs and traditions are primary reasons for a dysfunctional administration in this institution

12 Connections, bargaining customs and traditions are on the con trary essential means for solving most problems of this administra tive apparatus

13 As a bureaucrat in this educational institution I feel its administrative problems can be solved by increasing the number of administrators

14 The administrative problems, on the contrary can be solved by decreasing the number of the bureaucrats

Table 5 indicates the relationship between age and the bureaucrats self evaluation Noteworthy is the chi square significance, which reveals that around 30 per cent respondents do not know the nature of their work, which is simply to apply the laws into practice One also notes that there is a contradictory agreement on questions 8 and 9 that attributes administrative weakness either to the lack of administrative leadership or to the presence of a dictatorial one for in the two cases the chi square significance was 81 per cent and 87 per cent respectively There is also general agreement on the necessity of decreasing the number of the bureaucrats in order to solve some of the administrative problems of these institutions

BUREAUCRATS' EVALUATION OF STUDENTS

How do the bureaucrats evaluate the students? The following propositions were presented in an effort to answer the question

15 As a bureaucrat in this educational institution I find that the administrators are not to be blamed It is the students irresponsibility that leads to administrative problems

16 The students of this institution do not bother to ask how they can help On the contrary, they insist that the administration handle all of their problems

17 The students of this institution are complainers whether they have cause or not

18 As a bureaucrat in this institution I find the whole notion of citizenship and civic culture absent among the students

19 The administration of this institution is not responsive to the demand of the students

20 The administration of this institution is constantly busy with the students problems

Table 6 indicates the relationship between age and the bureaucrats evaluation of the students It is important to note that a high ratio of the

Table 5

AGE AND BUREAUCRATS SELF EVALUATION

	Q	X^2	MO	DF	X^2/S	CC	MR	SR	B	DET 4	CCF	CS
Y	1	16 147	31	14	0 304	0 187	0 118	—0 092	—0 076	—0 032	—0 092	0 022
Y	2	15 386	28	12	0 341	0 170	0 121	0 017	0 011	0 005	0 017	0 348
Y	3	8 909	29	12	0 710	0 140	0 179	—0 148	—0 228	—0 121	—0 148	0 001
Y	4	19 5 6	28	12	0 0[illegible]5	0 205	0 185	—0 050	—0 092	—0 049	—0 050	0 136
Y	5	15 365	25	12	0 181	0 181	0 185	—0 016	—0 013	—0 007	—0 016	0 363
Y	6	12 862	24	14	0 537	0 166	0 185	—0 015	—0 011	—0 005	—0 015	0 367
Y	7	17 695	25	14	0 221	0 194	0 203	0 065	0 112	0 05[illegible]	0 065	0 078
Y	8	9 290	25	14	0 812	0 142	0 203	0 072	0 002	0 001	0 022	0 312
Y	9	8 592	26	14	0 875	0 137	0 208	0 045	0 141	0 075	0 045	0 163
Y	10	10 995	33	14	0 686	0 155	0 208	0 039	0 016	0 027	0 039	0 196
Y	11	10 507	27	12	0 5[illegible]1	0 151	0 210	0 054	0 091	0 054	0 054	0 119
Y	12	10 794	36	12	0 546	0 155	0 212	—0 032	—0 035	—0 019	—0 032	0 238
Y	13	11 0[illegible]0	23	14	0 682	0 154	0 229	—0 107	0 124	—0 065	—0 107	0 009
Y	14	10 303	34	14	0 739	0 157	0 230	0 042	—0 007	—0 004	—0 042	0 176

Table 6

[illegible]

[illegible] AND BUREAUCRATS [illegible] OF STUDENTS

	Q	[illegible]	MO	DF	[illegible]	CC	MR	SR	B	BETA	CCF	CS
[illegible]	15	16 [illegible] 6	[illegible]0	14	0 [illegible]63	0 191	0 242	0 041	0 181	0 115	0 041	0 186
[illegible]	16	13 347	3	12	0.344	0 169	0.244	−0 06[illegible]	−0 043	−0 024	−0 062	0 089
[illegible]	17	15 345	[illegible]	14	0 [illegible]54	0 181	0 245	−0 052	−0 009	−0 005	−0 052	0 128
[illegible]	18	[illegible]	3[illegible]	1[illegible]	0 [illegible]37	0 138	0 [illegible]46	0 0[illegible]0	0 064	0 043	0 0[illegible]0	0 3[illegible]8
[illegible]	19	13 [illegible] 0	[illegible]9	14	0 453	0 174	0 258	−0 066	−0 149	−0 070	−0 066	0 073
[illegible]	[illegible]	12 415	30	1[illegible]	0 412	0.164	0 2[illegible]9	−0 069	0 004	0 002	−0 069	0 065

bureaucrats (73 per cent) agreed that citizenship and civic culture is absent among the students

BUREAUCRATS EVALUATION OF PROFESSORS

To measure the bureaucrats evaluation of the professors the following statements were submitted

21 As a bureaucrat in this institution I find that the source of administrative problems is not the students or the bureaucrats but the professors

22 There is an unbridgeable gap between the bureaucracy and the faculty This misunderstanding leads to a struggle

23 As a bureaucrat I consider it imperative that a profe sor be held as accountable as a bureaucrat in terms of his attendance teaching schedule method of instruction and freedom of action

24 Contrary to the above a professor should be given freedom in his scheduling of lectures method of teaching and choice of sources etc without any interference from the bureaucracy in his professional decisions

25 As a bureaucrat, I feel that evaluating a professor should be left to the students themselves

26 As a bureaucrat I think relationships among professors are close in this institution

27 As a bureaucrat, I find few faculty members who are willing to offer us scientific advice when we encounter problems

28 Some professors are concerned in upgrading the bureaucracy through scientific research however we as bureaucrats do not benefit from it

29 The administration in general finds professors ignorant of administrative affairs their job is to teach only

30 As a bureaucrat I find that professors are constant complainers despite all their privileges

31 As a bureaucrat I feel that most of the professors emphasize and try to handle problems themselves before finally coming to us

Table 7

AGE AND BUREAUCRATS EVALUATION OF PROFESSORS

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE

	Q	X^2	NO	DF	X^2_S	CC	MR	SR	B	BETA	CCP	CS
١	1	15 018	24	14	0 374	0 189	0 273	—0 116	—0 118	—0 062	—01 16	00 05
١	2	[illegible] 37	[illegible]6	14	0 095	0 212	0 [illegible]86	—0 106	—0 136	—0 033	—0 106	0 010
١	3	11 0 [illegible]	35	1[illegible]	0 5[illegible]2	0 156	0 [illegible]6	—0 045	—0 0[illegible]7	—0 014	—0 045	0 162
١	4	6 4[illegible]9	9	1[illegible]	0 892	0 119	0 [illegible]86	—0 033	—0 025	0 014	—0 033	0 232
١	5	[illegible]	[illegible]4	14	0 515	0 106	0 291	0 031	0 132	0 069	0 031	0 246
١	6	13 418	[illegible]3	12	0.219	0 181	0 [illegible]95	—0-095	—0 065	—0 047	—0 095	0 018
١	[illegible]7	10 9[illegible]8	[illegible]5	12	0 530	0 154	0 2[illegible]9	—0 063	—0 038	—0 025	—0 063	0 083
١	[illegible]	[illegible] 443	[illegible]9	12	0 [illegible]92	0 119	0 298	—0 0[illegible]9	—0 045	—0 028	—0 059	0 100
١	9	10 66[illegible]	33	12	0 557	0 153	0 [illegible]01	—0 107	—0 054	—0 036	—0 107	0 009
١	30	19 [illegible]07	[illegible]5	14	0.157	0 [illegible]02	0.302	—0 090	—0 052	—0 034	—0 090	0 024
١	31	12 069	[illegible]3	1[illegible]	0 440	0 162	0 088	—0 088	—0 053	—0 037	—0 088	—0 027

Table 7 indicates the relationship between age and the bureaucrats' evaluation of the professors There is an agreement, as indicated by chi square significance of 89 per cent for questions 24 and 28, that a faculty member should be given complete freedom in his academic decisions The bureaucrats also acknowledged the concern of some faculty members for scientific research However, there does not seem to be any basic harmony between the bureaucrats and the faculty as reflected by the inverse relationships in the bureaucrats evaluation of the professors The F test also upheld the assumption that there is harmonious relationship between the bureaucrats and the students and faculty in considering age as an independent variable where F=1 438

CITIZENSHIP AND ATTITUDES

The possibility that nationality affected the bureaucrats outlook was then explored Table 8 indicates the relationship of citizenship as an independent variable and the way the bureaucrats view the students and the professors on the one hand and the way they view themselves on the other Table 8 indicates clearly that the bureaucrats have concentrated on questions 1 3 7 and 16 They contend that they play an essential role in advancing their institutions They also agreed that their role is to convert theoretical laws into practical decisions Most of them however felt that their colleagues did not know the meaning of administrative organization, which indicates a very low level of trust among the bureaucrats themselves It also casts serious doubt on their competence as a whole The bureaucrats further indicated that the students were careless and do not assume a responsible role Chi square significence for questions 1 3 7 and 16 were as follows respectively 90 per cent 90 per cent, 83 per cent and 97 per cent The original assumption that the bureaucrats students and faculty were in disagreement was upheld by the F test where F=2 351 indicating the extent of alienation when citizenship was an independent variable

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND ATTITUDES

The questionnaire also addressed the influence of the place of birth on the respondents attitudes Table 9 indicates the relationship between place of birth and the bureaucrats self-evaluation and their evaluation of the students and professors This table indicates that chi square significance for questions 2 6 and 16 was 77 per cent 79 per cent and 60 per cent respectively One notes that the bureaucrats feel that their presence is a vital element in the

Table 8
****

CITIZENSHIP AND BUREAUCRATS EVALUATION OF SELF PROFESSORS AND STUDENTS

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE

	Q	Y'	MO	DF	V's	CC	MR	SR	B	BETA	CCF	CS
\\	1	17 089	4	6	0 906	0 191	0 133	−0.136	−0 009	−0 119	−0 136	0 001
\\		34 219	20	8	0 197	0 264	0 139	−0 021	0 006	0 008	−0 021	0 324
\\	3	18 633		28	0 199	0.198	0 139	−0 073	0 147	0 022	−0 023	0 303
\\	4	40 809	1	28	0 034	0 287	0 151	−0 039	−0 414	−0 063	−0 054	0 098
Y	5	29 777	18	28	0 373	0 247	0 168	−0 078	−0 359	−0 056	−0 078	0 045
Y	6	8 895	17	8	0 417	0 243	0 172	−0 053	−0 333	−0 046	−0 053	0 121
\\	7	20 982	18	28	0 830	0 209	0 187	0 040	0 315	0 045	0 041	0 187
\\	8	37 474	18	28	0 108	0 275	0 212	0 090	0 678	0 096	0 098	0 016
Y	9	40.[illegible]	20	28	0 063	0 285	0 213	0 036	−0 203	−0 203	0 037	0.211
\\	10	47 689	22	28	0 011	0.310	0 213	0 032	−0 041	−0 006	0 032	0 242
Y	11	0.063	20	28	0 005	0 317	0 220	0 063	0 470	0 079	0 064	0 032
Y	12	33 649	29	8	0 212	0 265	0 243	−0 114	−0 554	−0 083	−0 114	0 006
\\	13	43.702	16	28	0 029	0 295	0 264	−0 123	−0 499	−0.073	−0 123	0 004
\\	14	31.345	27	28	0 302	0 233	0 274	−0 095	−0 330	−0 054	−0 096	0 018

(Table 8 Contd)

Y	15	34 692	24	8	0 179	0 ?67	0 75	—0 060	—0 81	—0 0 0	[illegible]	[illegible]
Y	16	15 001	16	28	0 971	0 181	0 283	0 012	—0 304	0 049	0 012	0 596
Y	17	30 350	15	?8	0 346	0 249	0 293	0 055	0 372	0 064	0 055	0 115
Y	18	45 981	29	8	0 017	0.306	0 303	0 108	0 507	0 095	0 108	0 009
Y	19	27 808	21	?8	0 474	0 240	0 303	0 013	0 042	0 005	0 014	0 381
Y	?0	32 187	28	28	0 267	0 258	0 308	—0 087	—0 247	—0 044	—0 087	0 023
Y	21	32.075	17	28	0 271	0 256	0 321	0 061	0 771	0 113	0 061	
Y	22	39 695	19	28	0 070	0 ?83	0 331	—0 037	—0 461	—0 080	—0 037	0 210
Y	23	6 0	28	28	0 560	0 235	0 331	—0 037	—0 034	—0 005	—0 037	0 206
Y	24	34.503	?5	?8	0 184	0 ?67	0 336	—0 069	—0 301	—0 049	—0 069	0 065
Y	25	25 479	17	28	0 601	0 229	0 336	—0 016	0 068	0 010	—0 016	0 363
Y	6	59 830	16	28	0 000	0 339	0 361	—0 206	—0 774	—0 155	—0 006	0 001
Y	27	29 469	18	23	0 389	0 246	0 362	—0 001	0 237	—0 044	—0 001	0 491
Y	28	6 701	22	6	0 425	0 236	0 371	—0 070	—0 524	—0 093	—0 070	0 063
Y	29	44 715	6	?8	0 023	0 301	0 373	—0 079	—0 333	—0 062	—0 079	0 042
Y	30	41 935	18	?8	0 044	0 290	0 376	0 007	0 294	0 054	0 007	0 439
Y	31	42 273	21	?8	0 040	0 292	0 044	—0 044	0 313	0 061	—0 044	0 027

Table 9

X_3

PLACE OF BIRTH AND BUREAUCRATS EVALUATION OF SELF, PROFESSORS AND STUDENTS

	Q	X^2	MO	DF	V_s^2	CC	MR	SR	B	BETA	CCF	CS
X	1	1 5	49	16	0 6 3	0 1 2	0 131	−0 177	−1 103	−0 112	−0 127	0 003
X	[illegible]	11 9	43	16	0 771	0 162	0 138	−0 052	−1 218	−0 024	−0 0 2	0 178
X	3	14 [illegible]	49	16	0 547	0 182	0 139	−0 018	0 700	0 036	−0 018	0 347
X	4	1 [illegible]	48	16	0 [illegible]	0 218	0 158	−0 078	−0 555	−0 072	−0 078	0 043
X	5	7 0	44	16	0 147	0 0	0 164	−0 050	−0 136	−0 018	−0 0 0	0 138
X	6	11 6	44	16	0 92	0 159	0 167	−00 47	−0 165	−0 019	−0 047	0 153
X	7	1 84	45	16	0 367	0 196	0.171	0 008	−0 059	−0 007	0 008	0 476
X	8	1 37	44	16	0 0 0	0 239	0 184	0 058	0 403	0 049	0 0 8	0 103
X	9	181	46	16	0 137	0 271	0 190	0 015	−0 078	−0 010	0 045	0 162
X	10	30 415	54	16	0 016	0 259	0 191	0 053	0 766	0 037	0 0 4	0 120
X	11	37 915	47	16	0 001	0 285	0 195	0 038	0 348	0 0 0	0 038	0 202
X	12	[illegible]	56	16	0 070	0 257	0 203	0 073	−0 220	−0 036	−0 073	0 0 6
X	13	3[illegible] 108	43	16	0 009	0 263	0 219	−0 096	−0.317	−0 010	−0 096	0 018
X	14	[illegible] 339		16	0 002	0 234	0 230	−0 093	0 371	−0 0 3	−0 093	0 021

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE

Y	15	22 810	51	16	0 118	0 226	0 234	−0 082	−0 356	−0 054	−0 082	0 037
Y	16	11 000	43	16	0 809	0 157	0.239	−0 003	−0 325	0 045	−0 003	0 471
Y	17	19 777	42	16	0 230	0 209	0 241	0 015	0 135	0 070	0 015	0 371
Y	18	38 301	56	16	0 001	0 289	0 252	0 089	0 528	0 085	0 089	0 026
Y	19	21 430	48	16	0 162	0 218	0 253	0 027	0 227	0 025	0 027	0 276
Y	20	23 703	50	16	0 096	0 230	0 265	−0 105	−0 404	−0 062	−0 105	0 011
Y	21	17 515	44	16	0 353	0 197	0 267	0 012	0 349	0 044	0 012	0 392
Y	22	27 961	46	16	0 032	0 247	0 271	−0 029	−0 340	−0 050	−0 029	0 259
Y	23	20 151	55	16	0 213	0 214	0 275	−0 007	0 366	0 047	0 007	0 433
Y	24	27 701	52	16	0 136	0 223	0 283	−0 088	−0 476	−0 060	−0 088	0 028
Y	25	14 475	43	16	0 567	0 179	0 283	0 003	0 195	0 024	0 003	0 473
Y	26	67 9 9	43	16	0 000	0 309	0 323	−0 212	−1 060	−0 183	−0 212	0 001
Y	27	23 885	44	16	0 092	0 229	0 324	−0 019	0 149	0 024	−0 019	0 338
Y	28	15 962	40	16	0 100	0 204	0 306	0 0 0	0 041	0 018	0 020	0 350
Y	29	31 472	52	16	0 011	0 63	0 334	−0 080	−0 311	−0 049	−0 031	0 039
Y	30	34 209	45	16	0 005	0 271	0 338	0 003	0 394	0 063	0 003	0 473
Y	31	39 848	48	16	0 000	0 292	0 052	−0 052	0 307	0 051	−0 052	0 127

Table 10

CENTER AND BUREAUCRATS EVALUATION OF SELF PROFESSORS AND STUDENTS

	Q	X^2	MO	DF	X^2_s	CC	MR	SR	B	BETA	CCF	CS
ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE	1	13.165	39		0.001	0.171	0.002	0.060	0.033	0.047	0.060	0.093
	2	[illegible]	36	2	[illegible]	[illegible]	0.004	−0.011	0.003	0.009	−0.011	0.402
	3	[illegible]	33		[illegible]	0.069	0.006	−0.032	−0.055	−0.055	−0.032	0.240
	4	[illegible]	37	2	0.272	[illegible]	0.179	−0.091	−0.051	−0.055	−0.091	0.073
	5	0.118	34	2	0.942	0.016	0.155	[illegible]	−0.076	−0.033	[illegible]	0.783
	6	1.665	33	2	0.434	0.062	0.156	−0.081	−0.055	−0.051	−0.081	0.038
	7	[illegible]	34	2	0.009	0.143	0.167	−0.103	−0.078	−0.075	−0.103	0.012
	8	0.895	34	2	0.638	0.045	0.170	−0.081	−0.033	−0.031	−0.071	0.060
	9	0.369	36	2	0.856	[illegible]	0.171	−0.075	0.038	−0.038	[illegible]	[illegible]
	10	[illegible]	42	2	0.451	0.060	[illegible]	−0.069	−0.057	−0.057	−0.069	0.065
	11	0.784	36	2	0.675	0.049	0.178	[illegible]	0.010	0.011	−0.070	[illegible]
	12	1.855	44	2	0.595	0.065	0.181	0.019	0.037	0.037	0.019	0.335
	13	[illegible]	39	2	0.095	0.102	0.181	0.006	0.010	0.009	0.006	0.445

Y	14	3 044	43	2	0 218	0 083	0 183	—0 040	—0 038	—0 042	—0 040	0 192
Y	15	3 011	39	2	0 221	0 082	0 193	0 066	0 074	0 029	0 066	0 074
Y	16	3 139	32	2	0 208	0 083	0 199	0 076	0 049	0 053	0 086	0 047
Y	17	4 327	31	2	0 114	0 098	0 201	0 054	0 016	0 019	0 055	0 116
Y	18	1 954	44	2	0 376	0 067	0 202	0 031	0 031	0 039	0 031	0.246
Y	19	0 102	37	2	0 949	0 015	0 202	0 008	—0 018	—0 016	0 008	0 430
Y	20	2 857	39	2	0 239	0 080	0 202	0 014	0 020	—0 24	0 014	0 375
Y	21	2 868	33	2	0 238	0 080	0 205	0 012	0 044	0 043	0 042	0 179
Y	22	2 949	35	2	0 228	0 081	0 205	0 002	0 011	0 013	0 002	0 477
Y	23	4 966	44	2	0 073	0 106	0 234	0 115	0 121	0 121	— 0 115	0 006
Y	24	1 316	40	2	0 517	0 054	0 234	—0 001	0 018	0 019	—0 001	0 484
Y	25	3 27	33	2	0 199	0 085	0 247	—0 073	—0 082	—0 080	—0 073	0 055
Y	26	0 170	32	2	0 918	0 019	0 248	0 009	—0 002	—0 003	0 009	0 419
Y	27	0 776	34	2	0 892	0 022	0 249	—0 011	—0 018	—0 022	—0 011	0 403
Y	28	1 779	38	2	0 410	0 063	0 249	0 019	0 015	0 018	0 019	0 333
Y	29	1 257	42	2	0 583	0 053	0 251	—0 017	—0 030	—0 037	—0 017	0 355
Y	30	0 255	34	2	0 880	0 024	0 252	—0 011	—0 008	—0 010	—0 011	0 401
Y	31	0 382	37	2	0 825	0 029	0 065	0 065	0 029	0 038	0 065	0 087

educational setting and that their bureaucratic colleagues are not qualified In addition, they again contend that the students are irresponsible As with previous variables the bureaucrats disagreed among themselves, and with the students The research assumption that the place of birth has a great effect was upheld by the F test, where F=1 847 Native born bureaucrats tend to express a more authoritarian attitude since the political, social, economic and legal setting is designed formally and informally in their favour In addition there are deep divisions, cultural and attitudinal, between the different groups themselves

Gender was also considered as an independent variable Table 10 indicates the relationship between gender as an independent variable and the dependent variables (bureaucrats evaluation of self, students and professors) Table 10 indicates that both sexes of the bureaucracy agreed on the following

1 The importance of the role of the bureaucrats (question No 2), where chi square significance is 87 per cent

2 Most of the bureaucrats are highly qualified (question No 5) with a chi square significance of 94 per cent

3 Most of the bureaucrats do not know what they are doing because of dictatorial leadership (question No 9) with a significance of 85 per cent

4 The institution's administration is not concerned with students (question No 19) with a significance of 94 per cent

5 There are good relations among the faculty members (question No 26) with a significance of 91 per cent

6 The faculty does not offer scientific advice and evaluation to the bureaucrats (question No 27) with a significance of 89 per cent

7 The faculty constantly complains despite all their privileges (question No 30) with a significance of 88 per cent

8 The faculty understands the situation of the bureaucracy and tries to solve its problems by itself (question No 31), with a significance of 82 per cent

While the bureaucrats seem to express a consensus there is in fact some contradiction especially in the last two questions In addition, a high ratio

Table 11

I_5

SOCIO ECONOMIC STATUS AND BUREAUCRATS EVALUATION OF SELF PROFESSORS AND STUDENTS

	Q	V	MD	DF	X^2 S	CC	MR	SR	D	BET 1	CCF	CS
Y	1	1 030	121	2	0 596	0 054	0 078	−0 011	−0 252	−0 103	−0 041	0 182
Y	2	1 063	117	2	0 393	0 072	0 071	0 070	0 052	0 073	0 070	0 376
Y	3	1 472	122	2	0 478	0 064	0 131	0 079	0 185	0 096	0 079	0 017
Y	4	6 708	121	2	0 034	0 136	0 151	0 080	0 199	0 105	0 081	0 039
Y	5	1 05	116	2	0 471	0 064	0 153	0 034	0 031	0 017	0 034	0 224
Y	6	1 076	117	2	0 583	0 054	0 160	−0 035	−0 919	−0 009	−0 035	0 223
Y	7	4 142	115	2	0 126	0 106	0 172	−0 051	−0 028	−0 041	−0 051	0 133
Y	8	2 057	117	2	0 357	0 075	0 204	−0 114	−0 006	−0 101	−0 114	0 006
Y	9	1 344	118	2	0 510	0 061	0 207	−0 063	−0 077	−0 014	−0 063	−0 083
Y	10	1 648	120	2	0 438	0 068	0 228	−0 125	−0 190	−0 108	−0 125	+0 003
Y	11	7 333	117	2	0 025	0 141	0 228	−0 030	0 028	+0 016	−0 030	0 254
Y	12	5 518	124	2	0 063	0 124	0 279	−0 018	−0 026	−0 013	−0 018	0 346
Y	13	7 884	116	2	0 019	0 146	0 279	−0 115	−0 041	−0 026	−0 015	0 36
Y	14	0 632	1 3	2	0 721	0 043	0 233	−0 054	−0 071	−0 041	0 054	0 110

Table 11 (Continued)

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE

1	15	3.148	1[illegible]0		0.[illegible]07	0.093	0.239	0.043	0.044	0.077	0.043	0.173
1	16	0.831	11[illegible]	2	0.653	0.018	0.233	0.0[illegible]3	−0.015	−0.007	0.028	0.265
1	17	1.433	11		0.491	0.0[illegible]2	0.247	0.033	0.108	0.065	0.058	0.102
1	18	3.493	125		0.173	0.009	0.247	0.015	0.011	0.007	0.015	0.368
1	19	0.[illegible]0	119	[illegible]	0.[illegible]41	0.010	0.[illegible]	0.266	0.0727	0.104	0.066	0.075
1	[illegible]0	6.107	1[illegible]1	[illegible]	0.045	0.131	0.[illegible]9	0.067	0.081	0.050	0.068	0.0[illegible]0
1	1	0.[illegible]33	116		0.703	0.014	0.274	−0.037	−0.035	−0.014	−0.037	0.205
2	2	1.[illegible]10	118	[illegible]	0.414	0.0[illegible]0	0.274	−0.030	0.021	0.012	−0.030	0.255
1	3	3.101	126	2	0.712	0.093	0.274	0.079	0.003	0.002	0.078	0.267
1	4	4.005	1[illegible]2	2	0.179	0.107	0.275	0.062	0.068	0.038	0.062	0.036
1	5	0.0[illegible]3	116	[illegible]	0.9[illegible]6	0.015	0.273	0.000	−0.002	−0.001	−0.000	0.495
1	[illegible]6	1.614	117	[illegible]	0.44[illegible]	0.067	0.2[illegible]9	0.076	0.075	0.059	0.076	0.048
1	7	5.9[illegible]5	119	2	0.031	0.178	0.281	−0.023	−0.038	−0.075	−0.073	0.302
1	[illegible]3	[illegible]710	119	2	0.257	0.037	0.[illegible]83	−0.040	−0.114	−0.0[illegible]0	−0.[illegible]40	0.187
1	[illegible]9	3.[illegible]44	1[illegible]1		0.146	0.103	0.290	−0.018	−0.0[illegible]0	−0.032	−0.018	0.345
1	30	4.[illegible]	117	2	0.009	0.115	0.290	−0.001	−0.007	0.005	−0.001	0.485
1	31	6.[illegible]69	118	[illegible]	0.037	0.134	0.059	0.059	0.065	0.044	0.059	0.099

of females expressed the opinion that most of the male bureaucrats are highly qualified Upon a closer examination of Table 10 one finds that there is alienation within and without The original assumption was upheld, where F=1 847

To what extent does the nature of the job affect the bureaucrats self evaluation and his evaluation of the students and the faculty? Does daily routine have an effect on the bureaucrat and his relationship with his colleagues students and faculty? Table 11 indicates the relationship between occupation as an independent variable and the other variables under study

Table 11 reveals that the bureaucrats reacted strongly to 3 questions question No 14 calling for a decrease in the number of bureaucrats as a solution to the problems with a significance of 72 per cent question No 19 indicating a lack of concern for students with a significance of 74 per cent and question No 23 leaving professors evaluation to the students, with a significance of 93 per cent

The hypothesis was that the occupation does play an important role in bureaucratic self evaluation and evaluation of professors and students The responses were scattered and reflect a general acceptance of anarchy Most of the bureaucrats were reluctant to answer some questions, while focusing on others Most of them indicated a negative evaluation as indicated by correlation coefficient and regression analysis and by the F test where F=1 311

It was hypothesized that the size of the family would not affect the bureaucrats evaluation Table 12 reflects the answers in detail The bureaucrats focused on questions 2 3 10 15 16 18 25 and 29 Chi square significance for each question was 72 per cent, 75 per cent 98 per cent 83 per cent 73 per cent 72 per cent and 72 per cent and 70 per cent respectively The original assumption was upheld in that the family size did not have significant effect on the bureaucrats evaluation as indicated by the F test where F=1 676

CONCLUSIONS

The research sample, which was almost equally composed of males and females between the average ages of 28 35 exhibited the following consensus

In terms of self-evaluation

1 30 per cent did not know the nature of their work
2 the majority agreed that the weakness of the administration is due to the lack of leadership or completely opposed to dictatorial leadership

Table 12

FAMILY SIZE AND BUREAUCRATS' EVALUATION OF SELF, PROFESSORS AND STUDENTS

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE

Q	X²	NO	DF	X²/[illegible]	CC	MR	SR	B	BFTC	CCF	CS
1	13.375	119	12	0.342	0.198	0.170	0.103	0.2 9	0.096	0.103	0.012
	8.530	146	12	0.237	0.1 9	0.1 2	−0.007	−0.010	−0.015	−0.007	0.432
3	[illegible]353	149	12	0.[illegible]	0.1[illegible]8	0.175	−0.007	−0.079	−0.012	−0.007	0.434
4	[illegible] 434	143	12	0.037	0.253	0.1 5	−0.010	0.040	0.018	−0.010	0.409
5	1[illegible]	144	12	0.147	0.[illegible]1	0.134	0.058	0.084	0.039	0.058	0.102
6	453	143	12	0.006	0.2 6	0.145	0.066	0.182	0.073	0.066	0.073
7	[illegible]	14[illegible]	12	0.032	0.253	0.154	−0.039	−0.115	−0.048	−0.039	0.194
8	11.0[illegible]	146	12	0.071	0.100	0.157	−0.016	0.240	0.099	−0.016	0.358
9	1[illegible]	148	12	0.158	0.271	0.[illegible]45	−0.181	−0.253	−0.111	−0.181	0.001
10	13.[illegible]61	154	12	0.3[illegible]	0.158	0.274	−0.179	−0.318	−0.151	−0.1 9	0.001
11	3.916	146	12	0.[illegible]84	0.203	0.[illegible]78	0.011	0.174	0.060	0.011	0.401
12	13.[illegible]6	157	12	0.[illegible]	0.179	0.2[illegible]9	0.040	0.109	0.048	−0.040	0.191
13	10.913	144	12	0.33[illegible]	0.250	0.291	−0.081	−0.200	−0.085	−0.092	0.037

Y	14	21 455	153	12	0 044	0 250	0 291	—0 019	—0 010	—0 004	—0 01)	0 336
Y	15	7 348	150	7	0 833	0 148	0 292	0 054	0 076	0 039	0 054	0 119
Y	16	8 002	141	12	0 736	0 158	0 293	0 052	0 118	0 055	0 052	0 129
Y	17	1 332	142	12	0 586	0 173	0.296	—0 078	—0 022	—0 011	—0 0 9	0 965
Y	18	8 (95	152	12	0 728	0 162	0 309	—0 103	—0 147	—0 080	—0 103	0 012
Y	19	14 598	148	12	0 264	0 207	0 311	—0 077	—0 095	—0 036	—0 077	0 047
Y	?0	16 ,31	1 0	12	0 168	0 220	0 311	0 020	—0 023	—0 012	0 020	0 330
Y	21	15 032	140	12	0 239	0 209	0 312	—0 033	—0 077	—0 011	—0 033	0 231
Y	22	18 105	146	12	0 112	0 228	0 312	—0 047	—0 011	—0 006	—0 047	0 153
Y	23	11 833	1,0	12	0 459	0 187	0 312	0 003	—0 020	—0 008	0 003	0 474
Y	24	15 405	137	12	0 220	0 213	0 313	0 020	0 081	0 038	0 020	0 331
Y	25	8 008	145	12	0 728	0 160	0 317	—0 059	—0 118	0 050	—0 059	0 009
Y	6	14 387	143	12	0 276	0 204	0 319	0 075	0 083	0 018	0 0 5	0 050
Y	27	13 097	144	12	0 362	0 195	0 322	0 055	—0 078	—0 042	—0 055	0 114
Y	28	13 236	149	12	0 352	0 197	0 322	0 002	0 078	0 014	0 002	0 478
Y	29	8 927	150	12	0 709	0 163	0 324	0 034	—0 084	—0 045	—0 034	0 229
Y	30	10 584	146	12	0 564	0 176	0 324	—0 018	0 036	0 020	—0 018	0 347
Y	31	11 972	146	12	0 447	0 187	0 070	0 078	0 051	0 031	0 078	0 044

3 most agreed for the need to reduce the number of bureaucrats
4 there is distrust among the bureaucrats themselves

In terms of evaluation of the students,

1 the majority agreed that the students were irresponsible and complained constantly,

2 the majority (73 per cent) stated that citizenship and civic duty were absent in the student body

3 there is no feeling of cooperation and harmony between the administration and the students

In terms of the bureaucrats evaluation of the faculty,

1 the majority indicated little evidence of harmony between faculty and administration

2 the bureaucrats indicated that they perceived a strong feeling of harmony within the faculty

3 the bureaucrats also indicated that they felt there was some harmony between the faculty and the students

The responses of the bureaucrats as a whole projected a strong feeling of alienation Nationality played a strong role in affecting a feeling of alienation which might be expected given the large number of expatriates working in the Gulf The nature of the job itself produces a feeling of alienation although the bureaucrats also indicated their willingness to co-exist with anarchy Family size played little role in determining their self image while gender underlined the general cultural attitude that men are somehow superior to women

It seems that the bureaucrats in the Gulf feel singularly isolated from the students the faculty and each other Anarchy is tolerated in the absence of any other order It may be that such isolation and anomic behaviour exists because of the lack of financial and administrative independence within the educational institutions[23] Finally given the prevalent methods of hiring where merit or qualifications are not primary considerations in filling administrative posts the prospect of a Weberian bureaucracy appears remote indeed[24]

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE

NOTES

1 *Refer to a series of* interpretations of the Weberian notion of bureaucracy

2 Ibrahim Darwish *Public Administration Theory and Practice* (Cairo Egyptian Public Book Press, 1972) p 472 (in Arabic)

3 Sayyed Mahmoud Al Hawari *Administration Methods and Scientific Bases* (Cairo Ain Shams Press 1972) p 668 (in Arabic)

4 Faisal Al-Salem and Tawfic Farah *Research Methods in the Social Sciences* (Lebanon Dar Al Muthalath, 1980) and Ahmad J Dhaher and Mohammed Ahmed *Modern Research* (Lebanon Dar Al Shurook 1979), Ahmed Rasheed *Theory of Public Administration* (Cairo Dar Al Maarif 1976) Chapter 2 It is important to note here that Easton's system model falls short in developing societies where feed back is usually absent See also Ahmed J Dhaher Bureaucracy and Social Alienation The Case of King Abdul Aziz University *Economic and Administrative Review* Jeddah Center for Research and Development June 1979 p 24

5 Reinhard Bendix *Max Weber An Intellectual Portrait* (New York Doubleday 1962) p 452

6 Max Weber *Theory of Social and Economic Organization* translated by A M Henderson and Talcot Parsons (New York Oxford University Press 1974) and H.H Gerth and C.W Mills *From Max Weber Essays in Sociology* (New York, Oxford University Press 1946)

7 See Joseph La Palombara (ed) *Bureaucracy and Political Development* in *Ibid* Chapter 2 See also Bertram Gross *The Managing of Organizations* pp 136-174 and Alfred Diamant "The Bureaucratic Model Max Weber Rejected Rediscovered and Reformed, in *Papers in Comparative Public Administration* edited by Ferrel Heady and Sybil Stokes (Ann Arbor Institute of Public Administration University of Michigan 1962) pp 69-96

8 Robert Merton et al (eds) *Reader on Bureaucracy* (Glencoe Ill 1952) pp 21 22 60-68 92 100

9 La Palombara *Politics Within Nations* (New Jersey Englewood Cliffs 1974) p 244

10 Carl J Fredrich *Constitutional Government and Democracy* 4th ed (Mass Blaisdell Publishing Co. 1968) Ch 3 See also Reinhard Bendix *Nation-Building and Citizenship* (New York 1954) Ernest Barker *The Development of Public Services in Western Europe 1660 1930* (New York Oxford University Press 1944) La Palombara, Values and Ideologies in the Administrative Evolution of Western Constitutional Systems" in *Political and Administrative Development* edited by Ralph Braibanti (Durham Duke University Press 1969) pp 166-219

11 Morroe Berger *Bureaucracy and Society in Modern Egypt* (Princeton Princeton University Press 1957) and Fred Riggs *Administration in Dev loping Countries The Theory of Prismatic Society* (Boston Houghton Mifflin 1964) and David Apter *The Political Kingdom of Uganda* (Princeton Princeton University Press 1961)

12 See La Palombara *Politics Within Nations* (New Jersey Englewood 1974) p 255

13. Faisal Al Salem *The Ecological Dimensions of Development Administration* (New Delhi Associated Publishing House 1978) Chapter 6 For more details see also A Stepan *The Military in Politics Changing Patterns in Brazil* (Princeton Princeton University Press, 1971) pp 3 70 57-84 S E Finer *The Man on Horseback The Rule of the Military in P l tics* (New York Praeger 1962) E Feit *The Armed Bureaucrats Military Admini trative Regimes and Political Development* (Boston Houghton Mifflin 1973) J Van Doorn ed *Military Profession and M lit ry Regimes* (Mounton 1969) pp 175-202

14 Morroe Berger *The Arab World Today* (New York Doubleday and Co 1962) p 155 Also see Adel Daher *Current Trends in Arab Int llectual Thought* (RM—5979—Ford Foundation Dec 1969)

15 Jalal Al Adam *Self Criticism After D f at* (Beirut Dar Al Talia 1968) p 17

16 Pierre Bourdieu The Sent ment of Honour in Kabyle Society in J G Peristiany ed *Honour and Shame The Values f the M diterranean Society* (Chicago Chicago University Press 1966) W B Quandt *Revolution and Leadersh p Algeria 1954 1960* especially pp 264-276 and L Binder Egypt The Integrative Revolution in Lucian Pye and Sidney Verba eds *Po itical Culture and Political Devel pment* (Princeton N J Princeton Univer sity Press 1965) especially pp 440-452

17 Miner & De Vos *Oasis and Casbah: Algerian Culture and Perso ality in Change* (Ann Arbor Uni ersity of Michigan Press Anthropological Papers No 15 1960)

18 Berger A ab World Today p 170

19 N Al Sayegh Ali nat on A Multi Dimensional Interpretation *Jou nal of the Social Science* VIII (April 1980) pp 267 251

20 Karl Marx The Bourg isie an l the Proletariat *The Communi st Ma ifsto* (Chicago H nry I egney Co. 1954) pp 15 39

21 C. Wright Mills *The Power Elite* (N w York O f rd Uni ers ty Press 1959) p 37

22 Gerth and Mills ed., *From Max Weber Essay in Sociology* p 37

23 T W Adorno et a. *The Authoritarian Personali ty* ew York Harper 1950

24 Hadley Cantral *The Psychol gy of Social Movement* (ew York Wiley 1941)

25 Robert M rton So al Structure and Anomie" *Social Theory and Social Structure* (G encoe I.l The Free Pr ss of G enc e 1957) pp 131 161

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE

26 John Horton The Dehumanization of Anomie and Alienation *The British Journal of Sociology* (December 15 1964)

27 *Ibid* p 20

28 Emile Durkheim *Suicide* (Glencoe Ill The Free Press of Glencoe 1951) p 248

29 M.S Silverstein Alienation as Ideology Among Intellectuals (Ph.D dissertation University of California at Los Angeles 1967) p 21

30 *Ibid* p 24

31 Karl Marx *The Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844* (New York International Publishers 1964) p 114

32 Faisal Al Salem and Maria Al Salem and Tawfic Fa ah Alienation and Expatriate Labor in Kuwait Migration and Development Study Group Center for International Studies Massachusetts Institute of Technology Cambridge Ma.s December 1979

33 See *Al Qabas* Kuwait No 3042 November 1980 p 5 Afak Kuwait Uni ersity No 3 3rd year September 28 1980 pp 2 3 Dr Hassan El Ibrahim previous Rector of Kuwait Uni ersity stated the following concerning the administrative problems at Kuwa t Un versity wh ch i still more advanced than the other educational institutions in the Gulf area

> Despite the expansion and the development of the university it has not been able to exploit its leadership role within the society because of the many restrictions a d limitations placed upon it It is still operating under outdated laws and regulations The university n eds flexibility to implement its administrat ve and financial responsibilities in addition to its developmental objectives

34 A clear examination of the manpower in terms of quantity and quality at Kuwa t University will re eal the following basic problems

1 The flight of qualified staff whether faculty administrator or technical Univers ty statistics indicate a high turnover specially among the highly qualified Kuwaitis
2 The university is o er staffed because of financial rules and regulat ons that *stress* quantity rather than qual ty and because unproductive wo ker *are not dismissed*
3 The un versity is unable to comp te in coopt ng qualified faculty with oth r un ver sities Uni ersity stat st cs point to numerou acancies n d fferent colleges that cannot be filled because of poor ncentives
4 The u ivers ty bure ucracy is underqu l fied which r fl cts n *their performan e* In som important departm nts those who have a univers ty *degr e are* not more than 30 per cent Furthe mor *they are* ofi n s c alized outs de th s dep rt ments. Th percentage would be en lower *in the* cas of the Kuwa tis which indicates the un versity s nability *to attract* Kuwa t un v rsity graduates
5 Fin lly the pra t c of d m ssal for poor pe formance runs counter to cultu l practice wh ch destroys any attempt at tandards It seems that th decis on to implement standards h s not been taken and ultim t ly th future of the un vers ty depends on t

These probl ms ar not unique to Kuwait Uni ersity much the same s tuation obtains at the oth r Gulf in titutions *In a way* the uni ersit es compound these problems by competing for qual f ed staff with the Gulf students ult mat ly suff ing

11 Morroe Berger *Bureaucracy and Society in Modern Egypt* (Princeton Princeton University Press 1957) and Fred Riggs *Administration in Developing Countries The Theory of Prismatic Society* (Boston Houghton Mifflin 1964) and David Apter *The Political Kingdom of Uganda* (Princeton. Princeton University Press 1961)

12 See La Palombara *Politics Within Nations* (New Jersey Englewood 1974) p 255

13. Faisal Al Salem *The Ecological Dimensions of Development Administration* (New Delhi Associated Publishing House 1978) Chapter 6 For more details see also A Stepan *The Military in Politics Changing Patterns in Brazil* (Princeton Princeton University Press, 1971) pp 3 20 57-84 S E. Finer *The Man on Horseback The Role of the Military in Politics* (New York Praeger 1962) E Feit *The Armed Bureaucrats Military Administrative Regimes and Political Development* (Boston Houghton Mifflin 1973) J Van Doorn ed *Military Profession and Military Regimes* (Mounton 1969) pp 175-207

14 Morroe Berger *The Arab World Today* (New York Doubleday and Co 1962) p 155 Also see Adel Daher *Current Trends in Arab Intellectual Thought* (RM—5979—Ford Foundation Dec. 1969)

15 Jalal Al Adam *Self-Criticism After Defeat* (Beirut Dar Al Talia 1968) p 17

16 Pierre Bourdieu The Sentiment of Honour in Kabyle Society in J G Peristiany ed. *Honour and Shame The Values of the Mediterranean Society* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1966 W B Quandt *Revolution and Leadership Algeria 1954 1968* especially pp 264-276 and L. Binder Egypt The Integrative Revolution in Lucian Pye and Sidney Verba eds *Politics, Culture and Political Development* (Princeton N J Princeton University Press 1965) especially pp 440-457

17 Miner & De Vos *Oasis and Casbah Algerian Culture and Personality in Change* (Ann Arbor University of Michigan Press Anthropological Papers No 15 1960)

18 Berger *Arab World Today* p 170

19 N Al Sayegh, "Alienation. A Multi Dimensional Interpretation *Journal of the Social Sciences* VIII (April 1980) pp 267 281

20 Karl Marx The Bourgeoisie and the Proletariat *The Communist Manifesto* (Chicago Henry Regnery Co. 1954) pp 13 39

21 C. Wright Mills *The Power Elite* (New York Oxford University Press 1959) p 32

22 Gerth and Mills ed., *From Max Weber Essays in Sociology* p. 5?

23 T W Adorno et al *The Authoritarian Personality* New York Harper 1950

24 Hadley Cantril *The Psychology of Social Movements* (New York Wiley 1941)

25 Robert Merton "Social Structure and Anomie" *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe Ill The Free Press of Glencoe 1957) pp 131 161

Such a bureaucracy is expected to function with impartiality, firmness ...ciency in the application of agreed policies to individual ca es U.N *Handbook of Public Administration* mentions

> Political neutrality is an essential complement to the merit system for it guarantees that the career officials will give the govern ment whatever its political make up absolutely impartial advice, criticism and assistance in any matter which concerns it Further, it assures the ministers that whether they accept the advice of the career officials or not their ultimate decision will be loyally accepted and faithfully carried out [2]

Political neutrality in its negative sense implies the absence of political ...ity or political bias on the part of individual civil servants in its ... ramification it implies that a civil servant will always respond ...vourably to the will of the government As an upshot of such a neutrality ...onsiderable legitimacy and respect is accorded by successive political regimes ...various hues to the advice tendered by civil servants Besides the civil ...servants also feel encouraged to offer advice that they consider to be the be t ...specific situations

... AND THE AMERICAN VIEWS

In Great Britain, civil service neutrality grew out of the requirements of parlia... government It became an instrument for guaranteeing that the ...pular will as expressed by the Parliament would be loyally carried out by ... rative staff[3] The main ingredients of the British concept of civil ...ervice neutrality may be listed as (1) Public confidence in the freedom of civil service from all political bias (2) minister s confidence in obtaining service from the civil servants irrespective of what political party is in ... (3) high staff morale based on confidence that promotions and other rewards do not depend upon political origins or partisan activity but merit alone [4] When the Labour Government came into power in the ... World War II Britain doubts were expressed about the ability of ...l servants to serve the new government faithfully as they had served the out going Conservative government whose socio-economic policies were radi... different from those of the Labour Party In a wider context H J ... had observed

> No government in the period of the modern civil service has embarked upon measures which have called into question the foundation of the state Succeeding governments have differed in degree they have not yet been tested by the need to support policy which like that of Socialist Party might well challenge the traditional ideas for which it has stood [5]

However the doubts expressed by the sceptics proved to be ill founded and high tributes were paid to the impartiality and neutrality of British civil service by top-ranking Labour leaders such as Herbert Morrison and Clement Atlee [6]

The American concept of civil service neutrality, as outlined by the Hoover Commission entailed that the civil servants should keep clear of all political activity and preserve their neutrality in matters of politics Besides, the civil servants are advised to avoid such emotional attachment to the policies of any administration that may impede them to accept change easily and work in harmony with a new leader of the helm of affairs Moreover, the civil servants are expected to refrain from all such political activities which may adversely affect their ability to perform their official duties fairly or which may cause to identify them personally with a political party or its policies The senior civil servants are advised to make no public or private statements to the press except of a purely formal nature and make no public speeches of a political or controversial character [7] However in practice the concept of civil service neutrality has not been applied faithfully in the American politico-administrative system primarily because still a large number of important top-level policy positions are filled in by the American President keeping in view the political background and associations of the persons to be appointed on these positions As a result incumbents on these jobs are by definition political appointees and therefore cannot be expected to act in a politically neutral manner The Indian Civil Service on the British pattern is permanent and politically neutral The contemporary nature of the civil service has its roots in the Indian constitutional structure which determines the framework of service conditions of the higher civil servants

THE INDIAN SITUATION

The Constitution of India provides that the Acts of the appropriate Legislature may regulate the recruitment and conditions of service of persons appointed

to the public services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or the State [8] Further ' every person who is a member of a Civil Service of the Union holds office during the pleasure of the President and every person who is a member of a Civil Service of a State holds office during the pleasure of the Governor of the State ' [9] Thus the President or the Governor, as the case may be appoints the members of the civil service in accordance with the rules and ask them to continue during his pleasure ' While admitting the fact that the pleasure of the President and the Governor shall be exercised on the ' aid and advice of the respective Council of Ministers under Articles 74 and 163 respectively, the Constitution has made exhaustive provisions for agencies and means for their recruitment, control and removal

The Civil Service Conduct Rules in India prohibit the government employees from active participation in political activities They have beed denied the right to join any service association which either has not been recognised by the government within six months of its coming into existence or the recognition to which has been withdrawn These restrictions are generally observed although certain relaxations have been made in the case of industrial government employees Members of the higher civil service do not take part in political activities, they do not contest elections and they cannot become the members of any political party or work for them In fact their only political activity is voting in elections through a secret ballot The doctrine of neutrality also implies that the members of the civil service have a duty to serve all governments with equal loyalty Civil servants are servants of the government—whatever the political colour of the government—and of the nation as a whole [10]

MINISTER CIVIL SERVANT RELATIONS

A minister in a parliamentary democracy is a political administrator and a large part of his time is devoted to political engagements Further a minister is a layman and he is not expected to possess expert knowledge of the technical work of the departments concerned His tenure of office is uncertain and he may be shifted from one department to the other The permanent officials who work under him are generally specialists in the work of a particular department and they are expected to carry out the public policy as outlined by the minister In fact the minister can at best lay down broad lines of policy It may be mentioned that even in framing the policy the minister depends to a considerable extent for information and guidance on the civil servants In order to help the minister in decision making the civil servants with the help

> out of trouble by staying out of sight. No political executive in his right mind would want one of them assigned to his office. A Government stuffed with people who avoided emotional attachment would be like a hospital full of doctors and nurses who did not care whether their patients lived or died, just so that proper professional procedures were followed. Too much emphasis on neutrality would shift the whole government into neutral.[14]

Undoubtedly, India has lessons to learn from what Cleveland has observed about the American conditions.

Thirdly, in a country such as India where about 80 per cent population is illiterate and the relative number of educated citizens is very small, the civil servant has to assume an important leadership role. This becomes increasingly important in rural areas which are devoid of active political leadership as a result of migration of all enlightened leaders to urban and metropolitan areas with an intent of gaining greater political influence and strength.

It may not be an exaggeration to state that possibly there is no scope for any programme neutrality for civil servants to exercise when huge welfare schemes are undertaken on a massive scale. It is not possible for any civil servant to take a neutral position between service and apathy, between welfare and stagnation and between action and inaction. A commitment to the basic values of democracy, secularism, humanism, social egalitarianism and economic growth with equality are bound to make an administrator an 'activist' actor rather than a 'passive agent' of change and such an activization in empirical situations would operate against the traditional norms of political neutrality. An administrator with a view to promote socio-economic and political justice has to occasionally fight the exploitative elements in society which have political clout of their own. This drags an administrator into a complex situation where his political acumen and skill will help him to withstand the pressures emanating from the environment and push the progressive policy measures with effectiveness. Logically, in such a murky situation political neutrality of administrators will at best remain notional. Add to this the onerous responsibility of the administrators to implement the Directive Principles of State Policy enshrined in the Indian Constitution and his activist role would become pre-eminent and visible enough to cross the traditional parameters of a politically neutral civil service.

And lastly, it may not be realistic to assume that a civil servant can with his will alone keep his personal political preferences neatly separate from his

administrative behaviour Personal and organizational values have necessarily overlapping influence areas

CONCLUSION MODIFIED CIVIL SERVICE NEUTRALITY

The foregoing analysis shows that in view of prevailing conditions, the traditional concept of civil service neutrality needs drastic revision particularly in the contemporary setting in which an administrator has to be a focal person for initiating and sustaining systemic change whereas his value pattern has to buttress such a role

Traditional concept of civil service neutrality is giving way to a broader concept of a positive role in the policy process Civil servants will be committed to function in terms of law and the *Constitution* The civil servant must observe 'neutrality as between the political parties but political neutrality would not imply freedom from commitment to the basic philosophy of the political system The civil servant must first become democratic in temper, and secular and liberal in outlook and only then he should enjoy the advantages of political neutrality

There is a need for civil servants who are professionally dedicated to their tasks Such a *professional commitment* will imply that civil servants undertake their tasks with sense of enthusiasm and not in a routine manner In this context, the remarks of Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi would be pertinent

> Their [civil servants'] job is to give frank advice but they must feel committed to the objectives of the state which have been approved by Parliament They should have unreserved faith in the programmes which they administer An official who has no active faith in secularism cannot deal with the communal problem We must all have a commitment to the *development* of the country and a sense of personal involvement with the welfare of our people [16]

In order to secure the commitment of civil servants to the socialist secular and democratic values of our Constitution the following suggestions regarding institutional innovations are worth considering It may be added that these suggestions are at best only a partial attempt to create greater awareness among the civil servants towards their roles and responsibilities But pending broader systemic change they may prove to be eufunctional The district level officers

who deal with important day-to-day matters should be more intimately involved with the life of the citizens The zila parishads panchayat samitis and panchayats should hold open Question Hour sessions periodically in which all district level officials should be present to answer the questions This system will besides ensuring the accountability of district officials, bring citizens and administration closer to each other Hopefully, the administrative officials will become increasingly empathetic to people s problems and conscious of their attitudes As far as Secretariat level officials and Heads of Departments are concerned more legislative investigating committees should be established by the Legislature to investigate and scrutinise the working of the administration This will enhance the accountability level of the politico-administrative system Besides, formal as well as informal channels of citizen administration interaction should be multiplied and made more effective

It is correct that unless the administrator believes in democratic and socialist values he will not be sincere in implementing policies which are meant to bring about democratic socialism in the country A true socialist is one who is ever ready to sacrifice his own interest for the good of the community as a whole Such a desirable change in the mental outlook of administrators can be facilitated by a rigorous system of training in attitudinal change which can be organised at a large number of centres throughout the country Besides such a training also needs to be imparted to politicians who in fact, have to perform leadership roles influencing the total socio-administrative system

It needs to be stressed that the administrative culture and organizational climate in the country requires drastic change Administrators with strong commitment to national ideology and progressive goals will have to be preferred over chronic yes-men who are perennial career builders Such a recognition accorded to the committed civil servants will help create a positive internal environment which in turn will have a multiplier impact on the total system Concomittantly the motivation management system will also have to undergo radical change in the public administrative system In fact this would require a significant change in other facets of public personnel administration

As the time passes the emerging more broader and positive concept of civil service neutrality should be accepted as a recognized principle which can prove to be eufunctional in the contemporary setting of socio-economic and politico-administrative change

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE

NOTES

1 H.M.S.O. Committee on the Political Activities of the Civil Servants *Report* (Chairman J.C. Masterman) Cmd 7718 (London M.M.S.C. 1949) p 14

2 United Nations *Handbook of Public Administration* (New York United Nations 1959) p 36

3 Sterling D. Spiro *Government as Employer* (New York. Remsen 1945) p 55

4 S. Lall, Civil Service Neutrality *Indian Journal of Public Administration* IV (Jan. March 1978) 4-5

5 H.J. Laski *Parliamentary Government in England* (London George Allen & Unwin Ltd 1950) p 317

6 Herbert Morrison *Government and Parliament* (London 1854) p 334-336 and Clement Attlee Civil Servants Ministers Parliament and the Public *Political Quarterly* XXV (Oct Dec 1954) 353-355

7 U.S. Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of Government *Report* (Washington D.C. 1955) pp 39-41

8 *Constitution of India* Article 310

9 *Ibid*

10 This again is a British maxim See Morrison *Government and Parliament op cit*

11 R.N. Banerjee Should India Have a Committed Bureaucracy *Indian Political Science Review* V (July Sept 1971) 46

12 *Ibid* 48

13 K.C. Wheare *The Civil Service in the Constitution* (London Athlone 1954) pp 26-28

14 Harland Cleveland The Political Executive A paper Delivered at the Princeton University on 2 March 1956

15 P.R. Dubhashi Committed Bureaucracy *Indian Journal of Public Administration* XVII (Jan March 1971) 35

16 Quoted in S.P. Aiyer Political Context of Indian Administration *Indian Journal of Public Administration* XVII (July-Sept. 1971) 356

PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT PROCESS ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF B MEHTA

Ramesh K Arora Editor

HCM State Institute of Public Administration 1979, pp xxxviii+220
Rs 40 (paperback) Rs 50 (bound)

Containing 19 essays in honour of the late Shri B Mehta one of the best Chief Secretaries that any State in India has had so far, the volume, edited by Ramesh K Arora, a distinguished scholar working in the field of Public Administration deals with a vital theme This coupled with the fact that the contributors include some reputed scholars and administrators, guarantees the utility of the publication to a considerable extent After congratulating the editor for selecting such a theme and such contributors, there is no point in indulging in carping criticism about that inevitable concomitant of edited works the uneven quality of contributions

Even so one wonders if the utility of the volume would not have been enhanced considerably, if the editor had filled in a few gaps by structuring the persentation on more systematic lines with a sharper focus on the conceptual and operational dimensions of participation His Forestatement' does not appear to be close to what we have in mind

Starting from Shri B Mehta s role in sustaining panchayati raj in Rajasthan panchayati raj gets the lion s share of attention in a number of essays scattered throughout the work The first essay by Iqbal Narain raises some basic issues relating to panchayati raj both as an ends category and as a means category *vis a vis* an attempt to evolve mutually reinforced patterns of relationships between panchayati raj democracy and development It would have been interesting if one or more of the contributors had touched upon these issues in greater depth with reference to certain basic features of the Indian social reality Instead we find in the next essay some superficial observations e g the benefits of caste perhaps sometimes overweigh its evils

> Caste as an association could be diverted as an interest group (*sic*) for mobilising people s interest in development programmes The only caution that one has to take is that the caste does not take the form of casteism p 19

It might be said that the authors have just tried to jot down some reflections But in a scholarly work like this even reflections should be informed by a better social science base or a more perceptive analysis of experience (in the case

of administrators) From this point of view essays by Vishnu Datt Sharma, V John (Yes even V V John) !), Mohan Mukerji, A M Ghose and Sudesh Sharma, though relatively better leave much to be desired The perhaps deserve a more nutritious stuff V Jagannadham s provo- ve piece might have provided some compensation had it made the task of untying complex conceptual knots easier In arriving at the conclusion that development could take place without popular participation but it could not occur without people s involvement sufficient attention does not seem to have bestowed on the subtler aspects of communication (an aspect of parti- on) associated with democratic processes The analytical distinction 'participation and involvement should break down sooner or later a wider perspective is brought to bear on the discussion of this impor- ant theme Let straw men be knocked down, but should we not have a es plain udinous approach to responsiveness, 'equity etc ? After all an contribution of participatory processes is to make the rulers more

At least one merit of P C Mathur s essay is the avoidance of question begging propositions and attention to aspects of mobilisation d up with the 'broadcast and disaggregated approach to partici- ion Unfortunately, it is a little too brief For a wider canvas of issues a franker discussion seeking to avoid both euphoria and cynicism we to turn to T N Chaturvedi's scholarly contribution though one might sh that he was less sensitive (he being an administrator !) to criticisms re- ng alleged administrative lapses He however, goes to the heart of the ter when he says ' How to get people to participate is not just a question i but of continuing exercise and organisation' (p 166)

The remaining essays throw considerable light on the operational pro- ms of this exercise Nearly half of them happily, are by administrators— Hooja, Rakesh Hooja and T K Jayaraman—who not only provide insight o field problems but also help identify operationally meaningful areas of ticipation Without them the compilation would have been distinctly

The other pieces in this category—those by Anil Bhatt R P Joshi nd Rohit Brandon A P Barnabas and S K Chandra Rameshwar Sharma Shankar Bhatt and Anter Singh—provide taken together much empirical material and analysis Anil Bhatt s concluding observation— It is this penetration of public authorities and the resulting linkages which will elp the induction of politically peripheral rural communities into the higher nd more central levels of politics and administration —answers in a way ite a few issues raised by several contributors It is hoped that subsequent xercises on this theme will benefit by such perspectives (Better still the

Cornell studies in this field) If they do the present effort of Ramesh K Arora can be said to have started a fruitful debate

The book is well produced and reasonably priced It will be a useful addition to the libraries of social scientists and administrators

SHIVIAH

THE EVOLUTION OF POLITICS IN BANGLADESH 1947 1978
S K Chakrabarti

New Delhi Associated Publishing House 1978 pp xii+304, Rs 65

The book under review is the product of the author s vigorous research work for Ph D dissertation. The book has covered political events of a long period of more than three decades that led to the creation of a nation (Pakistan) from British domination its dismemberment and the emergence of a new nation (Bangladesh)

The whole book is divided into six chapters with an appendix and an exhaustive bibliography The first chapter contains a discussion on the socio-economic conditions of the Muslims in Bengal from 1857 to 1947 and the gradual involvement of upper and middle class Muslim intelligentsia into politics The author rightly observes that the Muslim League was a party of landed aristocrats having no root in the common mass through the party was first formed in Bengal The interest of Muslim Bengal was not taken care of by the top Muslim leaders even before partition The only leader who identified himself with the masses of Muslim Bengal was Fazlul Haque but he could not play any effective role due to political intrigues operating at the instance of certain North Western India based Muslim League leaders

In the second chapter the author highlights gradual domination of West Pakistani rulers on the various aspects of East Pakistan life and the latter s strong reaction to such domination The author has stressed the role of students in the movement of East Pakistanis for retaining their cultural entity and

language through the language movement of 1952 which is regarded as first movement for the emancipation of East Pakistan from West Pakistani exploitation There also emerged an educated middle class which was part and parcel of the masses and the members of this class voiced their strong sentiments against exploitation

Chapter three is devoted to the discussion of economic and political exploitation by the West Pakistani political administrative and military elites Chapter four contains discussion on martial law under Ayub Ayub s constitutional measures in restoring democracy the novel way of suppressing the movement that sprang up in East Pakistan on the basis of six point programme and Ayub s fall and resignation from politics under the martial law his search for a formula of political compromise in giving power back to the people and his political conspiracy that led to the civil war resulting into the emergence of Bangladesh

In the last chapter the author focuses on the post liberation politics of the period 1972 78 In this section he refers to a multitude of problems being faced by Bangladesh political and economic steps taken by Mujib sudden assassination of Mujib and subsequent military coups Finally the author presents his opinion about the future of Bangladesh

Though the book is on the whole an outcome of library research the author at many places has used references based on secondary sources without verifying or counter checking these with original or other relevant sources As a result in some cases certain phenomena have either been over explained or under explained The book no doubt gives an exposition of political processes and stresses and strains under which Bangladesh has achieved independence However while discussing the evolutionary political process the author has not hinted towards any clear-cut political trend or trait that has emerged or is likely to emerge in Bangladesh

As regards the statement on page 153 that General Yahya Khan probably advised Ayub to accept the demands of the DAC and retire from politics it is not supported by any documentary evidence The reviewer himself was in Pakistan and he had learnt from a reliable source that Ayub was in favour of rule through imposition of martial law but Yahya was in favour of total martial law Ultimately Yahya won and Ayub stepped down On page 157 the author has discussed the details of the explosive situation prevailing in East Pakistan which necessiated the imposition of second martial

law The author has not made any reference to a similar situation prevailing in West Pakistan when all important cities in the part of the country were on fire The professionals, government servants workers, labourers students—all came out to the street to voice their respective grievances This short of political turmoil was never experienced by the West Pakistani ruling elites Besides Bhutto s strong opposition to Ayub s role was equally a strong factor to instigate the people to have an anti Ayub stand

In Appendix A of the book under review, the presentation of two simple tables is too indequate to project the scale of disparity between East and West Pakistan The author could have given additional statistical data on how Bangladesh was exploited financially by the West Pakistani rulers despite the fact that East Pakistan was economically more viable than West Pakistan at the time of partition Further, at page 236, it is stated by the author that molestation of Major Dalim s wife was a cause of Dalim s personal grievances against Mujib This seems to be a journalistic expression The word 'molestation is very offensive and questionable and there is no authentic report on the incident referred to

In the last chapter under the title 'Bangladesh Moves On the author unjustifiably holds a pessimistic view of the economy and politics of Bangladesh despite the prevailing favourable opinion presented by the Western communication media The author has overlooked the visible economic programmes undertaken and political mobilisation taking place in Bangladesh

These criticisms however weigh little in comparison to the patience and labour the author has put in carefully handling the mass of data The book is obviously a good addition to the literature available on the evolution of politics in Bangladesh and will certainly serve the purpose of a useful documentation source for future researchers in the area of Bangladesh politics

M SHAMSUR REHMAN

ADOLESCENT THIEVES
A STUDY IN SOCIO CULTURAL DYNAMICS

K S Shukla

Delhi Leela Devi Publications 1979 pp 224 Rs 60

K.S Shukla *has*, with his specialization in criminology chosen a very imaginative theme for projection of skills and ideas Criminology is full of literature on juvenile delinquents and adult criminals but, to my knowledge, *there* are very few books on adolescent criminals and on the socio cultural aspects of theft and adolescent thieves The present work is as per the author, ' a step *in the* direction of understanding the phenomenon of criminal behaviour in a developing society ' Shukla has stressed in the preface of this study its two dimensions namely "the individual and the mode and pattern of communication between the individual and the social institutions

The area of present study covers two cities namely Gwalior and Indore in Madhya Predesh—both populous and urban About one hundred adolescent thieves from each city was taken as sample The delinquents, their families companions, neighbours, employers lawyers and police personnel *were the* primary sources of data while police, jail court and MOB (Modus Operandi Bureaux) were the secondary sources

The author has delineated the phenomenon of delinquency progressions through five stages namely (1) exposure (2) socialization in delinquent values (3) internalization of delinquent norms (4) criminal action and (5) criminalization (p 20)

Shukla has demonstrated in the presentation of data conceptual clarity and skill Some of the observations of the author are very insightful and deserve further exploration and verification For example he observes

> It is significant to note here that the delinquents in general were set for primary delinquency at the family level itself due to a variety of factors At the companionship *level* therefore it was more a matter of reinforcement and a drift towards delinquent direction (p 98)

It would be desirable to explore the concept of primary delinquency enunciated by the author Shukla then refers to the mixed character of the

associational structure of the neighbourhood and the school The social constellations where most of the interactions between the delinquents and others take place consist of market place, cinema houses, railway and bus stations and the like The most provocative statement is 'The deviant models in most of the cases are present in the family itself (p 90)

The book under review contains nine chapters starting with conceptual framework and ending with an analysis of interaction between the thief and society The book elaborates the quotation of Emile Durkheim in the preface "Crime is a social fact and a human act" Chapters five to eight seem to be significant contributions of the writer These are Differential Association and Delinquent Roles, Criminal Gangs Operational Strategy, and Perspectives of Persistence The rest of the chapters form part of the usual survey methodology

A major stream underlying the study is the assumption In Indian society as elsewhere the dominant factor in the delinquent process is the economic conditions of the family since they determine a child's place in a stratified society and influence the mode of communication with others (p 193) In this context it may be mentioned that technological progress and economic development have brought the phenomenon of uprooting the people from their moorings and alienating them from the mores Under the circumstances car lifting in urban areas and cattle lifting in rural areas is not wholly attributable to family predispositions or economic factors in a stratified society Crime including theft by adolescents is committed for the heck of it The thrill of adventure and risk taking prompt transient and momentary deviancies that may have long standing sequences and behavioural determinations Perceptions of deviancy delinquency and crime differ according to time and place Customs and values condition the contours of controls When the cultures are becoming perpetually transitional and values contingency oriented it is hazardous to generalize about the socio-individual aspects of and ration in crime culture

Is crime on the ascendency in developed and developing societies? Most of us assume it is But is it really so or is it an impression related to better detection and reporting, technology and more numerous opportunities for the increasing population who are becoming alienated and uprooted? What is deviancy? What is delinquency? Is crime a matter of cultural definition? Is there no crime or theft in societies where there is no institution of private property Is property definition confined to land water goods or

person only? Or does it extend to intangibles like honour and status? These and other questions require further in depth analysis A scholar such as K S Shukla will be doing a service to the discipline of criminology by going more deeply into the phenomenon of deviancy while studying the multifaceted processes of "socio cultural dynamics

V JAGANNADHAM

CONTEMPORARY MANAGEMENT THINKERS

M L Mishra

New Delhi Associated Publishing House 1980 pp 130 Rs 40

In plain and simple terms organization theory considered by some as synonymous of management theory is the study of the structures functions and performance of organizations, and the behaviour of groups and individuals within them It arouses in administrators and managers an interest in the problem of organizing and exposes them to the principal problems of integrating tasks with men

The beginning of a science of management really took place during the last decade of the nineteenth century Gnatt Gilbreths Hugo-Munirwebirg Taylor and others contributed to the development of scientific management Weber attempted to fulfil a very important need of the new industrial society by suggesting the model of bureaucratic system for efficient organization of business and government In addition several thinkers contributed to administrative thought between the wars but of late there has been a growing consciousness about the fact that the gap between theory and practice has been increasing rapidly It becomes therefore necessary to examine the conceptual developments in management from the perspective administrative reality In the present volume M L Mishra has made a creditable attempt in this direction and has discussed the contributions of five eminent contemporary management thinkers viz Drucker McGregor Argyris Likert and Bennis

The basic contribution of Drucker is that he has created management consciousness aud has emphasized integrity and character in managerial behaviour There is hardly any doubt that he is a thinker with vision and one

who has struggled for years to build a model of organization which would create a better society His later writings show his disillusionment with the managerial reality and thus his initial expectations appear to have been dashed against self centredness, parochialism and malpractices of present day managers.

Argyris has pointed out that formal organizations are basically anti maturing and therefore act against employees achieving a sense of self actualization Though a believer in the 'fusion process Argyris has focussed more on the individual than on the organization In another context, Douglas McGregor notes with dismay that management s freedom to manage has been progressively curtailed in the industrial society Another scholar referred to by Dr Mishra is Rensis Likert who belongs to the psycho-sociological school which has put the study of managerial and organizational problems on scienti fic footing Warren Bennis on the other hand, has successfully drawn the attention of the management world towards planning of change as against a mere cause and effect narration of change so much characteristic of the tradi tional theories

There is hardly any doubt that goals of organization need a radical change and the society needs new managers who are less driven by personal power and greed and are more oriented to the achievement of broader social and societal goals M L Mishra has done an excellent service to the students community by presenting the views of distinguished thinkers in a most simple, lucid and critical manner Two chapters containing the synthesis and critical appraisal of the management writings are of everlasting value and are an important contribution of the author

The author and the publisher deserve congratulations for bringing out a book which has been well written well produced and reasonably priced for the student community We hope M L Mishra would continue this interest and introduce more management thinkers to the academic world in India

S K SHARMA

THE JUDICIAL PROCESS

Henry J Abraham

New Delhi Oxford University Press 1978, pp xii+514 Rs 10

Law touches every individual throughout his life—although scholars have not been able to arrive at a universally acceptable definition of law The forces which influence law are amongst others religion ethics custom science etc, but when each one enquires the components of its concept they start differing From Primitive Law to Mature Law it has been a process and is still continuing The process by which it is enforced is the judicial process It also embraces some fundamental factors of adjucatory steps It is not a computer that operates the process With sixteen commandments in mind requisite knowledge of law, psychology and current tensions a person possessing the twin qualities of competence and integrity can perform the function It is again a political process The learned author has considered both these aspects in breadth and depth and has not hesitated in indicating their inadequacies. Enriched by copious quotations from authorities the book is a valuable storehouse The judges are always the subject matter of public assessment and depending on the nature of dispute their opinions are subjected to scrutiny by the jurist and the layman alike and often unknown to the judge

It is therefore necessary for students of law and social sciences to understand the judicial process and I would unhesitatingly say that Abraham s work will help them admirably

B P BERI

TRAINING AND ADMINISTATIVE DEVELOPMENT

Ramesh K Arora and Jagdish C Kukar Editors

Jaipur HCM State Institute of Public Aministration 1979 pp Rs 40

The main emphasis of the current administrative philosophy as also its operative technology the world over is to fashion personnel systems as professionally

well equipped sharp-edged in efficiency and responsive to popular aspirations In modernizing the administration's delivery system, unless the personnel capabilities—their skill, motivation and commitment—match the organizational goals, it is difficult to achieve any breakthrough The nature of governmental functions having changed particularly in the wake of the new developmental challenges and the emerging international economic order the problems of personnel administration have assumed different colour and contours How to bring about efficiency in administration in the changing environment has become the major concern The book under review deals with one of the most crucial aspects of Indian personnel administration—civil service training The volume contains a collection of essays on different dimensions of training management in the civil service

Out of 22 chapters four have been added by the editors thus eliminating the need of a general introduction Some of the contributors are well known administrators and scholars whereas there are others who are comparatively newcomers thus the quality of production is uneven Besides, there is a lot of overlapping and the first page of every article more or less presents the same theme Some chapters are however very refreshing T N Chaturvedi, in the opening chapter presents an overall view of the role of training in administration He clearly brings out in his own style that training in administration has multi-dimensional problems and they merit continuing and comprehensive approach In view of the developing dimension and emerging problems in administration the entire approach to training in public administration has to be in an exploratory pragmatic spirit Other papers in the volume revolve round the same theme H M Mathur admits that the lack of trained man power is a great hindrance to the successful execution of development programmes and training despite stimulating human resource development contributing to the development process has some deficiencies Meaningful training programmes have thus to be designed and efficiently executed Harry Levinson makes two significant suggestions—setting up an understanding of a common direction to give permission for interaction around problems to be solved to involve people in collective thinking about those issues and to create a new non authoritarian managerial climate The second effort involves a mode of coping with the rigidities of the hierarchical structure in organizing people around problems to be solved

Taken as a whole the book is a useful addition to the literature on the subject and the editors deserve compliments for their efforts Bibliography has been imaginatively compiled and the price is reasonable One only wishes that instead of reproducing the already published papers authors may be

commissioned to write fresh papers within the framework provided by the guidelines

S P VERMA

THE LANGUAGE ISSUE IN INDIA

H K Prasad

Delhi Leeladevi Publications 1970, pp 126 Rs 45

In India, as elsewhere language is an important area which is capable of kicking up lot of dust at the slightest opportunity because it is a sensitive problem throughout the world and the Third World countries are subject to terrible stresses and strains on this issue The book under review gives a synoptic view of the language problem in India Although it has an ambitious title but actually it deals with the problem in just 50 pages dividing the text into six chapters An equal number of pages are devoted to questionnaires prepared by the author to gather factual information from various sources like teachers universities and public service commissions

The rigour of an academic study is conspicuous by its absence in the book under review The author had submitted the study as a dissertation in the advanced professional programmes in Public Administration conducted by the Indian Institute of Public Administration However the author raises a few pertinent questions about the problem of switch-over to native languages and comes to the painful conclusion that ' In the present situation it would be expedient to reconcile to the existing situation and retain English for a long time ' (page 18) Prasad is in favour of the three-language formula and suggests acceleration of the growth of Hindi and other major languages

The book contains a brief bibliography and an index The price of the book is prohibitive even allowing for the all round increase in production costs

M KISTAIAH

POLITICS AND ADMINISTRATION FOR TOTAL HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Swami Ranganathananda

New Delhi Indian Institute of Public Administration 1980 pp xx+401 Rs 80 00

The book under review consisting as it does of twenty speeches and address made and delivered by the learned author over a long period ranging from

1945 to 1979 and covering such inverse subjects as education, administration democracy, character ethics, law religion, philosophy labour and integrated rural development is a welcome addition to the tremendous amount of literature on religion and philosophy and its relevance to politics administration and development of integrated human personality in its pristine glory which has so far flowed from the fertile pens of eminent authors

We seem to have achieved the ultimate in the field of science and technology but we still lie prostrate before the dark forces of violence and hatred We have so far failed to tame the brute in man with the result that the slip of peace and contentment leaks from almost every seam Western philosophy with its emphasis on power and wealth which science and technology brings in its train has failed to make the strife-torn world a happy human home This had provoked Bertrand Russell in *Impact of Science on Society* to remark that We are in the middle of a race between human skill as to means and human folly as to ends. The East with its emphasis on saintliness, sacrifice and self abstinence divorced as it is from the spirit of adventure and material development of the society has led to the lop-sided development of human personality It is here that Swami Ranganathananda fervently pleads for the establishment of a completely integrated civilization based on synthesis of religion science and democracy and stresses the need to effect a confluence of these two cultural streams (East and West) in every citizen for the fullest growth and development of man (p 22)

Swami Ranganathananda s presentation of imaginative sympathy as a panacea for the ills the administration suffers from is thrilling and captivating and deserves to be read not only many times over but totally immersed in the minds and hearts of our politicians and administrators To put it in nutshell it represents the paraphrasing of the adage that one must do to others as one wishes to be done by others Alas! We refuse to put this precept into practice thus causing advantage to none and disadvantage to all Swamiji s views that commitment should not be to any person or authority but to the work the Constitution and the nation are unlikely to find favour with those who stand for personalized politics and centralized administration in the name of discipline

Since the accent of the work is on religion and good conduct innumerable pearls of wisdom lie scattered through the pages of the book Hardly is there a page which does not bear the impress of Vivekananda and his philosophy of [illegible] and man [illegible] The only fly in the ointment is that in a book stuffed

with sermons and homilies—pearls of wisdom—directed as they are at the generality of man Swamiji does not breathe a word of criticism of selfishness and self centredness so much indulged in by the people at the helm of affairs Just as water finds its way from the higher to the lower level the common people mould their lives on the pattern of the life styles of their leaders in the political economic, social and cultural realms Gandhiji could make angels and giants out of ordinary men and women People in his time vied with one another in sacrificing all that they had in the service of the country Why is it that this spirit of service sacrifice and dedication—conspicuous by its absence—is replaced by an unabashed search for power, pelf position pay prospect and promotion ? Swamiji has conveniently forgotten to answer this conundrum for the reasons best known to him

All said and done the book is characterized by a forceful style and must command wide readership It is useful for the politicians administrators and laymen alike

P D KUDAL

DISTRIBUTION AND DIFFERENTIAL LOCATION OF UTILITIES IN URBAN DELHI

Girish K Misra and K S R N Sharma

New Delhi : Indian Institute of Public Administration 1979 xxiii+456 Rs 125

Justifiably claimed as the first exercise of its kind, this study attempts to analyse the horizontal and vertical inequalities in the distribution of three public utilities namely water supply electricity and public transport in urban Delhi Its specific objectives are (a) to answer Lasswell s query who gets what when and how ? , (b) to probe the causes of service disparities between different localities and citizen groups and (c) to indicate future policy options in

regard to location supply and pricing of the three utilities to reduce the differential distribution (pp 3 4) The question 'who gets what' has been examined in terms of actual consumption of a public utility, 'when part is related to the timings of supply and the how is supposed to be found in the locational supply and pricing systems prevailing in an urban area (p 4)

The causes of disparities in the distribution of utilities are identified in a variety of ways obtaining data from the officials users and people s representatives (p 4) Although causal analysis of this nature is better amenable to historical probings which make forays into the motivations behind locational decisions initially and improvement/upgrading/expansion etc, made subsequently as the development of the areas proceeds in specific patterns, the authors have arrived at it with the help of opinionistic empirics The sample of the study covers 15 randomly selected localities A total of 566 respondents provided information about the three urban utilities

The book is divided into three parts The first part consisting of five chapters describes the existing lay out of urban Delhi and organization and management of public utilities It also provides an overview of literature on the subject The second and the third parts deal with important aspects of the field study conducted by the authors The second part presents a social area analysis of the sample localities and proceeds thereafter to narrate the field observations pertaining to water supply, electricity and public transport in Delhi In part three the distributional patterns of the three public utilities are highlighted and specific suggestions are offered for designing future strategies to locate and distribute the utilities equitably

As expected the study reveals glaring inter area and intra area disparities in the distribution of water electricity and public transport in Delhi The authors have discussed these in two separate places one under the caption field observations (pp 120-168) and the second general results (pp 171 1[illegible]) The second effort also undertakes a separate ranking of areas in terms of distribution of the three utilities

From the authors findings it would appear that the public utilities of water electricity and public transport have generally been better available to posh areas and even there especially to people in the higher income brackets Whereas the authors do talk of complex problems faced by their respondents in the location and distribution of the three utilities in Delhi they discreetly avoid discussing historical motives which have aggravated these problems

Although ambitiously entitled "Strategies for Future An Examination of the Policy Options (pp 198-204) the prescriptive part of the book neatly skirts some of the socio political technological and organizational facets involved in solving the problems discussed it concerns itself mainly with the existential issues The major prescriptions of the authors are No increase in water rates for people below average monthly income of Rs 500 for others either a general increase or selective discrimination on the basis of character of localities increase in the rates at higher consumption levels payment of water bills on the basis of paying capacity locational bias in correcting the present inappropriateness, and provision of tanks in the tail end areas (pp 199 200) For electricity, the authors recommend progressive taxation based on the levels of consumption additional taxation for those using it for luxurious purposes and better attention in servicing the poorer localities (pp 201 202) And finally for public transport system the authors suggestions include improvement of bus services in terms of fleet punctuality and behaviour of staff locational bias in favour of poor localities special services for office going people at higher rates upward revision of fare rates for distances above eight kilometres and cheap and faster services for poor localities (pp 202 204)

The book is a painstaking effort and would be extremely useful to the urban planners, city administrators and policy designers With better copy editing a slight reorganization of the analytical chapters somewhat more detailed analysis of the large number of tables (at present lost in the anonimity of the appendices) an analytical rather than descriptive narrative a more comprehensive prescription a bibliography containing references of additional research studies and a subject index could well have enabled the book to claim the label of pioneering hands down

H S VERMA

APARTHEID IN RAJASTHAN FINANCIAL CORPORATION

Yes we are rightly accused of the charge of pursuing a policy of apartheid in RFC We discriminate our Borrowers into two racial groups, the GOOD BORROWERS and NOT YET GOOD BORROWERS Good Borrowers are our blue-eyed boys We identify them by following features

* *Anybody who values his credit with us* and *helps us enhance it with* others
* Anybody who is utilising the industrial assets to the best of its capacity
* Anybody who has been paying his money back to us in time
* Anybody whose overdues are declining at whatever little pace
* Anybody who has been paying at least 50% of his net cash accerual from his current production after meeting the current liabilities
* Anybody who is desirous of investing his entrepreneurial capital in closed or sick units
* Anybody who is making good use of borrowed capital

All others the master inventors of excuses for not paying owners of sick units who are enjoying their sickness with unconcern and the borrowers who are indifferent about their credit from the group of NOT YET GOOD BORROWERS—we are shy of their company But welcome their infiltration into the good borrowers group

Would you accuse us of racialism ?

GOVERNMENT OF RAJASTHAN

MINES AND GEOLOGY DEPARTMENT: RAJASTHAN
UDAIPUR

Minerals occupy a unique position among natural resources and fortunately Rajasthan State is endowed with variety of minerals both metallic and non metallic It is the only State producing emerald, lead zinc ores, wollostonite jaspar and leads the country in the production of rock phosphate, wolframite, asbestos, calcite, felspar, soapstone, silica sand, garnet ochres, gypsum and silver

Over 150 crores rupees worth of minerals and metals are produced in the State Apart from base metals and fertilizer minerals in which the State has a prominent place in the country substantial quantities of non metallic and industrial minerals building stones and marble are produced in Rajasthan

The State Department of Mines & Geology provides facilities for the following services on moderate fees

(1) Tests of identification of minerals and rocks under Microscope Chemical analysis of minerals ceramic manufacture mineral beneficiation and processing

(2) Evaluation of mineral properties Prospecting and establishment of reserves and grade for the lease-hold areas

(3) Drilling work on contract basis

(4) Technical guidance to mining lessees within the State

The State Department of Mines & Geology has also accelerated its Mineral Exploration Programme and has made significant achievements in locating new mineral finds in recent years. The important are Discovery of lignite seams near Merta in Nagaur district and Kapoordi in Barmer district Basemetal deposit near Agucha district Bhilwara and Anjani in Udaipur districts Barytes deposit near Pelpatalia district Udaipur Besides a number of cement plants have been established on limestone deposits of which the investigation was done by the Department Further exploration and exploitation of these mineral deposits will facilitate development of mineral based industries in the State and provide employment opportunities for the people in the State

INDIAN GEMNOLOGY

by

RAJ ROOP TANK

EVERYTHING ABOUT GEMS



HIRA LAL CHHAGAN LAL TANK

JOHARI BAZAR JAIPUR

Phone No 72621
72941

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE



STATEMENT IN FORM IV

As per Rule 8 of Registration of Newspapers (Central Rules, 1959)

1	Place of Publication	Jaipur
2	Periodicity of Publication	Bi annual (Jan and July of each year)
3	Printer s name nationality and address	Shri R K Paul Indian Associated Publishing House Karol Bagh New Delhi 110005
	Publisher s name nationality and address	Shri Satish K. Batra Indian Joint Secretary cum Treasurer The Centre for Administrative Change 7 Jha 5 Jawahar Nagar, Jaipur 302004
	Editor s name nationality and address	Professor A B Mathur Indian Principal Government College Ajmer (*Chief Editor*) Dr Ramesh K Arora Indian B-56 Janata Colony, Jaipur 302004 (*Editor*)
;	Name and address of persons who own the paper	The Centre for Administrative Change 7 Jha 5 Jawahar Nagar Jaipur-30?004

I Satish K. Batra declare that the particulars given above are t? to the best of my knowledge and belief

1100

Sd/ Satish K.